The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME XVIII New York, Saturday, February 15, 1919 Number 224

Contents

Editorial Notes 65
Leading Editorials
Some Essentials of a League of Nations 68
Bolshevism on Trial 70
The Minima of Railroad Reform 72
General Articles
Is Nationality in Politics Bankrupt? . . Isaac Don Levine 75
The Leadership of the English Liberals 78
To What Green Altar? ..... Harvey O'Higgins 80
The Crisis in Demobilization ..... Arthur Macmahon 81
A Paris News-Stand ..... Arthur Ruhl 84
Verse 88
Correspondence 89
Books and Things ..... P. L. 90
Reviews of Books
In the Heart of a Fool ..... F. H. 91
Facts—and Values ..... R. F A. H. 92
Women and the Labor Party ..... S. T. 94
An English Suburb ..... M. A. 94
Swinburne and Landor ..... H. A. L. 96

THE failure of the anti-German combination during the war to reach an agreement as to a common political programme which would be realized in the event of military victory is now bearing its inevitable fruits. As soon as the Peace Conference assembled, sharp differences of opinion developed chiefly between those nations whose statesmen wished to use the common victory for the purpose of obtaining an increase of national power and those statesmen who wished to use it in the common interest of a just and durable peace. These differences have now culminated in a sharp clash between the French and the American representatives about the treatment which shall be meted out to Germany during the remaining months of the armistice. The threat has been uttered that owing to the attitude of the French press and certain French officials the American Commissioners will propose a transfer of the Conference from Paris to some neutral country. We do not believe that any such extreme action is seriously proposed or will be adopted, but the clash exists and can not be ignored. It first showed itself last summer during the height of the German offensive and the frank admission of its existence has long been impending. Its results will depend in part upon the attitude assumed by Great Britain and in part upon the reaction to it of public opinion in France and in this country.

IF Mr. Wilson were sanctioned in his course by a practically united public opinion in this country he would certainly have his way. The chief hope of the French statesmen who wish the treaty of peace to bring about permanent discrimination against Germany depends upon the assistance which they will receive from American sympathizers. In the same way President Wilson has in the event of a break a good chance of undermining the standing of the existing French government with the French people. We hope and expect that an irretrievable break will be avoided, but if it occurs its result will turn largely upon the underlying beliefs of the French and American people. Largely but not wholly. Much will also depend upon the attitude assumed by the British government and the British people. With British assistance the President's policy will prevail because in that case both American and French popular opinion would in the end rally to his support. But if he fails to obtain British assistance he will probably be beaten in France and will have difficult sledding in this country. Our own guess is that the immediate clash will be averted by British mediation, and that British influence will in the long run align itself quietly and firmly on the side of the President.

DEEPLY as we regret the necessity of American opposition to the government of a nation which, like France, is suffering from such grievous wounds and which is united to this country by so many common memories and purposes, we do not see how President Wilson can compromise on the essential point. If, as M. Clemenceau says, the coming peace is only a "lull in the storm," the military victory of the Allies, purchased at such a hide-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ous cost, would have been won in vain. In that case the future security of France and Europe would be guaranteed only by the permanent subjugation of the German nation, and the permanent arming of non-German Europe and America in order to prevent the German people from protesting against necessarily unjust treatment. Such a policy would never succeed. Sooner or later Germany would emerge from her isolation, just as France did after her defeat, and would seize the first opportunity of taking revenge on the country which was condemning her to permanent humiliation and subjugation. Thus the future peace of the world depends upon the kind of safeguards which the victorious Allies bring into existence during the next few months. If they assume, as M. Clemenceau does, that the "military debate" will be resumed and act on that assumption, it most assuredly will be resumed and the stronger nation of the two will eventually exterminate the weaker. If they assume that it can be stopped and plan to emancipate the future security of the nations from dependence on competitive armament and diplomatic intrigues, it can and will be stopped and the war will have resulted in political as well as in military victory. President Wilson is contending for the best interests, not only of his own countrymen and of the smaller nationalities of Europe, but for those of the French people.

PRIME MINISTER CLEMENCEAU himself opened hostilities by an interview given to the Associated Press which was published in the American papers on February 10th. In this interview he referred to the reports that a large proportion of the American army feels aggrieved at the treatment which it has received in France while those divisions which have occupied German territory have to a considerable extent opened up friendly relations with the German civilian population. The reports seem to be true, but their importance can easily be exaggerated and it is a pity M. Clemenceau felt it necessary to discuss them in public. Public discussion will exaggerate the significance of the kind of petty irritation which usually occurs when alien populations are brought into intimate but temporary and artificial relations. This phase of the disagreement will soon pass unless it is prolonged and intensified by deeper disagreement of political policy and ideals. Clemenceau exposed the roots of the disagreement in proposed policy when in his interview he declared the present cessation of hostilities to be only a "lull in the storm." The part of France represented by him has no faith in the ability of a League of Nations to guarantee to France security against Germany. He expects a resumption of the "military debate" and proposes to impose conditions on Germany which will prevent her military and economic recovery. But if this policy prevails the project of a League of Nations and a healing and durable peace must be abandoned. Such is the issue and never a more fundamental issue was argued before the final court of public opinion.

THE creation of a Supreme Economic Council, which in all purely economic matters is superior to the Armistice Commission, represents an important progress toward peace. The Armistice Commission has taken, naturally, a purely military view of such economic matters as came before it. It assumed a unified enemy state behind the partially disarmed forces of Germany, and conceived that every economic concession made to such a state would disturb the relation of forces fixed by the armistice. The broader view of statesmanship, that, however desirable it may be to defeat an enemy state, the political disintegration of such a state is dangerous, could not have been expected to prevail in a military council. In the degree in which Foch and his colleagues were fitted by temperament and training to bring the war to a victorious conclusion, they were unfitted to weave together the strands of civil relations in preparation for peace. There is nothing unprecedented in this. After every great war there has been a conflict of views between the generals and the civil statesmen as to the proper handling of the enemy. And, as a rule, wherever the generals have had their way the peace they have established has been precarious. That is why we must regard the establishment of a Supreme Economic Council, to guard over the civil interests, as auguring a sound peace.

WHEN the armistice with Germany was first negotiated the Allies and America had it in their power to stipulate the general demobilization of the German military forces. This was not done, we believe, for the reason that the whole world feared the disorders that might have been produced in Germany by the sudden dissolution of the German armies. In the late weeks preceding the armistice no one could foretell the strength that would be developed by the extreme radical factions. No one could say how great an army Germany might require to maintain order. Now most of the uncertainties hanging over the new German political order have cleared away. There is no immediate danger that the country will fall into anarchy. There is a danger that the military forces still intact may tempt the supporters of monarchy to attempt a counter-revolution. Accordingly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there appears to be the best of grounds why the Allies, upon the renewal of the armistice, should demand a drastic reduction of the German forces. If such a demand has the tendency to produce discontent in Germany, that tendency can easily be counteracted by a relaxation of the blockade. Get the Germans back into civil life, and let them have such food supplies and materials as they need. That would advance the interests of the whole world.

SERGIUS SAZONOFF, representing the Denikin, Don, and Kolchak "governments," refuses to participate in the conference between the Allies and the Russian factions on Prinkipos Island. There are excellent reasons why neither the Russians nor the Allies should want Sazonoff at the Conference. Of all the living Allied statesmen, Sazonoff alone shares complicity with the Germans for welcoming this war, and for working to bring it on. He is the black stain on the Allied escutcheon. He was the faithful servant of Russian autocracy and Russian imperialism, eager to fortify the position of the worst political influences in Russia by a war of conquest and expansion. In the presence of the greater crimes of the German imperialists, it may be proper to forget the machinations of Sazonoff. But it is almost incredible that instead of going into hiding, Sazonoff should have the effrontery to appear in Paris and to talk brazenly as to what should or what should not be done to establish sound democracy in Russia. It is more nearly incredible that the American press should go on day after day presenting the democratic views of Sazonoff. Sazonoff and democracy: was there ever in history a more incongruous combination?

THE Senate vote on the Espionage act is a matter for no small surprise. Senator Borah was attacking the Postmaster-General's control of the mailing privilege which is the head and centre of the measure. His resolution was defeated by 39 votes to 25, but it is significant that no senator could be found to defend Mr. Burleson's administration of his powers. Men like Senators Overman and Nelson spoke angrily about the growth of Bolshevism, but no one seemed to feel that Mr. Burleson's was the hand to arrest that growth. It is greatly to be hoped that the discussion will not end here. Apart from the political unwisdom of concentrating such control in the hands of a single official, especially with its subject-matter of the importance which attaches to freedom of the press, the constitutionality of the manner in which it is exercised is matter of grave doubt. Due process means that no judicial or executive decision is to be made without giving parties the right to be heard. The Supreme Court, for instance, in McCall v. New York held that, while it will not pass upon the content of an administrative decision, it will see that steps are taken to arrive at that decision in reasonable fashion. No such process exists in the case of the mailing privilege. The publisher does not hear that his book or paper is anathema. He is not asked to explain or justify his action. Out of the reservoir of political and moral wisdom accumulated at the post-office the matter is held unfit for the mails. So, on occasion, it well may be; but under the post-office system there is not the slightest rule why it should be. There is no canon of elementary judicial procedure Mr. Burleson does not violate. He may be right or wrong; but his methods give us no means of judging whether he is likely to be anything but wrong. It is greatly to be hoped that some publisher will be enterprising enough to take the matter to the Supreme Court. It is time we knew whether due process is to be a relic of antiquity in all except labor legislation.

DEPORTATION of aliens who abuse the hospitality of the United States by conspiring for the violent overthrow of its government is doubtless a necessary political measure. It may also be a necessary political measure to deport aliens who avail themselves of our soil to hatch violent plots against other governments. As the law stands, however, it might easily be given such an interpretation by our administrative officials as to deny the right of asylum in America to any revolutionist, no matter how good his cause. "Aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that . . . advocates the necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of any officer or officers, either of specific individuals or of officers generally, of the government of the United States, or of any other organized government" are liable to deportation. Narrowly interpreted that law might be stretched to cover the case of all members of revolutionary societies, since revolution involves almost of necessity the killing of officers. All Indian, Chinese, and Mexican revolutionists might find themselves thrust out of the country, to be dealt with by the governments from which they had fled. If the Soviet government of Russia comes to be recognized as organized government, all the counter-revolutionaries in this country will be in danger of being sent back to be dealt with as it chooses. Such can not be the intent of the law. But administrative action in applying the law ought to be well safeguarded, if our government is not to be the accomplice of every foreign tyrant.

IF there is anything as disheartening as having to drag out the venerable arguments for woman suffrage it is the necessity of supplicating inert

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

legislatures for the eight hour day and minimum wage for women, and health insurance for all workers. Yet this is the legislative programme of the members of the Woman's Trade Union League of New York, and to effect it they are trying to raise a campaign fund of 25,000 dollars. Some claim that it is not only disheartening but foolish to wait for such laws from legislatures when labor unions are claiming and getting the 44 hour week. The only remedy, these say, is organization. Nobody believes and practices this more fervently than the Woman's Trade Union League, but their experience has shown that a fragment of leisure must be brought to the masses of unorganized, work-stupefied women if the process of unionizing is not to be too desperately slow. And if New York passes these laws others may follow. There are few better investments in democracy than a contribution to the campaign fund of the Woman's Trade Union League of New York..

AS a campaign issue, the railroad problem is still in the stage of preliminary skirmishes, but it is not too early to avoid scrupulously any suggestion that the rules of warfare are to be unfairly manipulated to the disadvantage of one of the principal belligerents. The railroad brotherhoods have strong ground for such a complaint in a regulation which the Director General of Railroads proposes to enforce, restricting the political activities of railroad employees. The brotherhoods point with much force to the fact that stockholders and bondholders are free to run for office, to form committees, solicit funds, and campaign for a solution favorable to their interests while similar activities on the part of the operatives are rigidly limited on pain of dismissal. As long as security holders are allowed to throw their full weight into the political scale, no administration interested in a liberal solution of the railroad problem can afford to deprive the men of their most effective political weapon. The argument that politics will interfere with efficiency can be met by prohibiting any political activity during work.

Essentials of a League of Nations

SOME time between the anniversaries of Lincoln's and Washington's birthdays there will probably be published in Paris the official draft of a League of Nations. Many intimations of the specific provisions of the proposed world covenant are being anticipated in the press dispatches from Paris, but until recently the intimations were not sufficiently authoritative to furnish a trustworthy excuse for the discussion of the covenant in detail. Now, however, that the specific instrument is about to be revealed it is desirable to consider briefly what some of the essential conditions are which a competent organization of a society of nations will have to satisfy.

The primary object of the world covenant will be to abolish war as a means of deciding controversies among states. Heretofore the law of nations not only did little or nothing to discredit the use of war as an engine of national policy, but it recognized an ultimate appeal to arms as a legitimate and a justifiable method of trying out international issues. Its primary object was rather to regulate than to abolish war, and since war was hell and the negation of civilized and human values, the law of nations was attempting the impossible task of regulating the negation of all rules, of redeeming a hellish institution which defied redemption. Popular opinion throughout the world has rebelled against this criminal absurdity. The ghastly experiences of the last few years have taught the lesson that statesmen must choose between international government and the suicide of civilization. If the free peoples do not outlaw war, war will, under the novel conditions created by modern industrialism and technology, devour civilization.

But if the society of nations is to outlaw rather than to recognize and try to regulate war, its statesmen must devise some effective agency to perform the function which in the past has been blunderingly and murderously performed by war. The statement that war served as the court of last appeal in controversies among nations implied that war was the finally effective instrument of readjustment in international politics. Dangerous international conflicts are born of alterations in the ideals, the power, the ability or the vitality of particular nations of sufficient importance to provoke demands and threaten consequences which other nations refuse to consent to without violent protest. In order to settle such controversies any effective League of Nations needs to be more than an agency of arbitration and conciliation. It must exercise legislative authority. It must have the power to decide whether or not proposed changes in the relations of one nation to another nation are desirable or undesirable in the interest of international comity. Nations cannot abolish war without being willing to set up an international government and submit to its dictates.

It is because there was no chance of abolishing war without setting up an international government that statesmen and international lawyers have regarded the proposal with suspicion and scepticism. The cornerstone of the whole international legal structure has been the absolute and irresponsible sovereignty of particular states. The most jealous guardians of state sovereignty, consequently, were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the small nations which considered it necessary to their independence. Yet if the League of Nations is to outlaw war, it must deprive particular states of the sovereign discretion which authorizes them to decide when they are justified in waging war. The League as an international legislative authority must prescribe rules of international behavior. It must possess a permanent organization which can follow up the operation of the rules and collect accurate and full information about their effects. It must possess the power, if necessary, to insist on obedience. Finally, if this international government is to be liberal rather than merely dictatorial, it must derive its authority ultimately from a positively consenting and understanding public opinion, and it must itself arrange for the creation of such public opinion. These are enormous powers. By what political devices can a group of jealous, apprehensive, suspicious and egotistic nations be induced to set up and submit to such an overlord?

Statesmen and publicists have returned many divergent answers to this question, but only recently has the immediately possible answer dawned upon them. The nations, as a consequence of participating in the Peace Conference, have already recognized and, in a way, constituted an instrument of international government which claims full legislative authority and which possesses within reasonable limits the power to compel obedience to its decrees. As Viscount Grey has recently declared, "All that is absolutely necessary" to a working League of Nations is contained in the Peace Conference which has only to decree its own perpetuity. The Conference is composed of representatives of states which are and remain in law free and independent. An aggrieved nation can at any time withdraw or refuse to abide by the decisions of the Conference and in this way the technical independence of the sovereign state is safeguarded. But, under the circumstances, every state is most reluctant to withdraw and incur the disagreeable and dangerous consequences of defying the concert of the Powers. By so doing it would become a partial outcast and would be deprived of all the immunities, securities and privileges which accrue to the members of the international community. No matter how insubordinate a nation would like to be, it cannot afford to be left out in the cold. It cannot escape the compulsion of international association. In the case of Soviet Russia, we have had a perfect illustration of how irresistibly these motives operate. The essentially insurrectionary government of Russia must try to enter into the concert and must agree to conform to the rules.

But will the motives and conditions which are now operating so powerfully to prevent nations from playing a lone hand continue to operate in the future? Can the Peace Conference keep alive a legislative authority which secures obedience less because of the possession of an irresistible power of physical coercion by the Conference than because of the dangers and inconveniences of isolation? Affirmative answers to these questions will depend upon the success of the Conference in writing a healing treaty of peace. The Conference will soon enact the most important programme of public legislation which has ever been submitted to the test of successful operation and the future verdict of mankind. This legislation, like all lawmaking, must give specific applications to definable and acceptable general rules. If these general rules embody the spirit of live and let live, if they guarantee to all nations equality before the law, the opportunity of living their own lives in comparative security and prosperity, the powerful motives which are now preventing particular states from playing a lone hand will continue in effective operation. But if the general rules written into the treaty embody a spirit of discrimination and provide particular nations with permanent grievances and the assurance of a frustrated future life, such nations will manifestly have every reason to flout and eventually to destroy the authority of the rules and the rulers. In the long run only overwhelming force could prevent them from breaking out into insurrection and seeking by war a justice which they could not obtain without it.

It is essential, consequently, that the general rules enacted into the treaty of peace should be defensible in some court of final equity. Yet it is no less essential that abundant allowance should be made for intentional or unintentional mistakes in their application. Such mistakes are certain to occur. The wisest and the most just of men could not avoid in the allotment of territory and the drawing of boundaries errors which will cause friction among neighboring nations. They could not avoid proposing solutions for many of the varied and complicated economic and political problems which will not work and which will demand modification. If an attempt is made to convert the League of Nations into an agency to sanctify these mistakes, it will be fatal to the League's own perpetuity. The Peace Conference must provide that the League which takes over its legislative authority is free to modify its own specific work. It must not write any perpetual contracts; and all specific contracts which it does write should come up for automatic revision at the end of a certain definite number of years.

Finally, the Peace Conference must arrange for the creation and the expression of international public opinion. In the long run the free peoples

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the world will never accept dictation as to their laws from a body of delegates, no matter how eminent, representing only the executive branches of their own governments. They will demand that any international council or secretariat which reached decisions or arranged business for a society of nations be supplemented by a regular inter-parliamentary assembly in which both major and minor bodies of national opinion could get expressed and work out their agreements and differences with similar bodies in other nations. In the beginning such an inter-parliamentary conference could possess only advisory functions, but if it succeeded in creating and expressing a genuinely international public opinion there is no telling where it might end. We infer from recent Paris despatches that the League of Nations Commission is seriously considering the institution of such an inter-parliamentary conference. The news, if true, is of the utmost importance. It is a proof that in this respect the work at Paris is being infused with a liberal, constructive and tolerant spirit. The propaganda in favor of a League of Nations has usually ignored the necessity of supplementing the necessary organ of international decision with an organ of international discussion or opinion, so that in proposing to release international discussion the statesmen are showing themselves more enlightened than the great majority of the agitators. For an inter-parliamentary conference is a no less essential adjunct to an operative League of Nations than an international secretariat or a group of equitable political principles.

Bolshevism on Trial

IN a letter published on another page Mr. William Stearns Davis asks certain "plain questions" about future economic intercourse with Soviet Russia which deserve consideration. Their importance is immediate and unquestionable. The statesmen who are moulding the policy of the Allies in Paris will have to arrange for early and sufficient answers to them. These statesmen have proposed a conference among the several factions which aspire to govern Russia, and hitherto the only important faction which is willing to confer is the one which now controls the Soviets. The conference, when it takes place, is bound primarily to consider the terms on which Soviet Russia will consent and be permitted to resume intercourse with the rest of the world. Under the circumstances its assembly will be equivalent to informal recognition. The Allied governments have, at least for the present, abandoned the plan of suppressing Bolshevism either by military force, by a "sanitary cordon," by starvation or by economic boycott. The Czecho-Slovaks have become infected with Bolshevism and are now being withdrawn from Siberia. The Allies have clearly decided to evacuate, if not the whole of Siberia, at least the western portion of it, and in addition both Kola and Archangel. Their retreat leaves the Soviet government in occupation of by far the largest part of Russia. If it is not to be exterminated the Allies must find out on what terms they can do business with it. They must negotiate a truce. The most pressing, if not the most difficult, problem with which the negotiators will deal is the terms on which Russia can resume economic intercourse with the industrial nations.

There is, of course, a huge unsatisfied demand in Russia for manufactured products of all kinds. During the four years of war and revolution her whole equipment of machinery and tools has been either destroyed or gravely damaged. The home industries of Russia have never supplied the demand for such products before the war, and they are more than ever incapable of supplying the huge existing need. British, American or German industry will have to renew the machine and tool equipment of Russia. That is certain. What remains in doubt is the proportion in which this trade will be shared among the industrial nations and how it can be carried on and financed. Apparently it was Great Britain which first awoke to the opportunity offered by industrial famine in Russia and the certainty that if the Allies continued to pursue a futile policy of coercion, Germany would obtain in the end a monopoly of the future Russian market. No wonder, consequently, the British government proposed to abandon a policy which has failed so completely hitherto and which may have such undesirable future consequences.

What, then, will be the terms on which both parties to the bargain will consent to resume trade? Mr. Davis does not penetrate to the core of the matter when he asks "Who is going to pay for the economic rehabilitation of a Soviet Russia?" Of course Russians will have to pay for the rehabilitation of a Soviet or any other Russia. The immediate question is "With what are they going to pay?" Before the war Russia imported the greater part of her consumption of manufactured goods and paid for them in foodstuffs and raw materials. If Russia possessed at the present time or was likely to possess in the near future an available surplus of foodstuffs and raw materials for export, American or English business could soon bring about a revival of the former trade even though the Russian export agency were a socialistic state or a syndicate of workers instead of an individual merchant. The hindrance is that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russia is not producing sufficient raw materials and food for export, and she cannot pay in the ordinary way for the satisfaction of her huge demand for manufactured products. She is impotent to resume commercial intercourse with the industrial nations until either she can obtain credit from the nations with which she wishes to do business or until the volume of agricultural and mineral production is enormously increased. Part of her impotence is due to exhaustion, in which all Europe shares. Both France and Great Britain are putting embargoes on trade with this country because they cannot afford to pay for the commodities needed by them. But in the case of Russia the economic theories and practices of its rulers create a no less formidable obstacle to the obtaining of credit, the increase of production and to the resumption of foreign trade.

Our correspondent very properly emphasizes these difficulties, but he favors apparently an unnecessarily costly method of dealing with them. He wishes, we infer, the Allied governments to assume the responsibility of removing the obstacles in Russia to Russian foreign trade. He believes that they cannot be removed unless a sufficient military or economic force is provided to exterminate the heretical Russian government. If such is his meaning, he exhibits a deplorable lack of faith in democratic as opposed to Prussian politics. Bolshevism is the child of ostracism, oppression, despair and ineffectual underground brooding on economic and social grievances. If its advocates are proscribed, coerced, and cut off from communication with the rest of the world, it will continue to feed upon the sources of its early vitality. It would in that event have a fighting chance of survival because of the profound reluctance among the common soldiers in all the armies to undergo the rigors of police duty in Russia. A much more effective way of attacking Bolshevism as the embodiment of irreconcilable class warfare is to impose on the Bolshevists rather than on the Allied governments the responsibility for dealing with obstacles in Russia to the resumption of Russian intercourse with other countries.

We should like to see Bolshevism subjected to the test of coping with the practical problems of producing and exchanging goods in competition and association with the business organizations of other nations. It cannot survive such a test without undergoing radical modifications. It is Lenin, rather than Mr. Davis or ourselves or even Lloyd George and Mr. Wilson, who has most reason to bother about the answer to some of Mr. Davis's "plain questions." Lenin knows Russia cannot obtain the needed imports of manufactured products without paying for them either in goods or credit. He knows that at present the goods are not being and cannot be produced and that the credit of the Soviet republic and its citizens is worthless. He knows that if the goods are to be produced he will have to offer substantial concessions to capitalist methods of production, and he will have to assuage some of the fears, hatreds, and uncertainties which keep the foundation of revolutionary Russia so shaky. Finally, he knows that he must get goods for export produced and exchanged for the tools and machinery or else the Bolshevist experiment in proletarian government will fizzle out. Russia is economically one of the least self-sufficient of all the great nations. No Russian government can survive during peace unless it is capable of securing economic assistance from the industrially more advanced nations.

Lenin is enough of a statesman fully to realize the inexorable nature of this condition of survival. That is why he and his associates have hoped and worked for the Bolshevizing of Germany. They believed that if a proletarian dictatorship were established in Germany the combined states could be made economically self-sufficient. In the councils of the Soviets he advocated at one time the renunciation by the Bolshevists of the responsibility of governing Russia and their disappearance underground unless they could convert Germany to a class dictatorship. The only practicable alternative to a combination with Germany was the partial recognition and adoption of capitalist methods for the purpose both of getting out the product and of exchanging it for the goods which Russia needed from abroad. He and his associates have apparently accepted this alternative. Recent information from Russia indicates that the Soviet government itself is operating certain essential industries with the assistance of well paid managers. Its favorable answer to the invitation for a parley with the representatives of the Allied Powers and its offer to pay Russian debts to foreigners and to grant concessions in Russia to foreign capital all indicate what drastic concessions its leaders will make in order to obtain the assistance of other nations in effecting the economic "rehabilitation" of Russia.

It would be hazardous to predict what the outcome of these parleys will be. The obstacles even to a temporary working agreement are formidable; the irreconcilable opponents of such an agreement are unscrupulous and powerful. But if the Allied governments are wise they will strain many points in order to reach an agreement. They could not devise a more effective method of fighting and discrediting Bolshevism in so far as Bolshevism is the embodiment of an irreconcilable class conflict. The Bolshevists are, it must be remembered, the aggres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sive party. They propose to overthrow the democratic state and capitalist economics. If the attack is to succeed they need a fanatical conviction in the purity of their creed. Is not their fanaticism likely to fade and their councils to be torn by dangerous dissensions whenever they begin to associate in business with their class enemies and to take refuge in capitalist methods? How can they succeed in propagating revolution when their own rulers control a recognized government which like other governments is dependent on some respect for authority? Their "proletarian propaganda" even if its utterance were permitted in other countries would lose its edge, because the proletarians would be deprived of intolerable grievances and of the temptation to irresponsibility and irreconcilability. It would assume probably the characteristics of ordinary socialist agitation whose forcible suppression by a capitalist state would be equivalent to the abandonment of democracy.

It would also be dangerous to predict how much of Bolshevism or ordinary socialism would survive the adoption by the Soviet government of an opportunist policy. The Russian Revolution is moving in this as in other respects along an unusually incalculable course, and we have no opinion to offer as to the ability of the Russian revolutionists permanently to resist counter-revolution or to establish a stable government without going back to bureaucratic centralization and the omnipotent state. But if they can convert the Russian Soviet Republic into a genuine experiment in industrial democracy, that experiment will be worth all that it has already cost in suffering, bloodshed, injustice and hatred. It is because the New Republic has always believed in the supreme desirability of such an experiment that we have fought stubbornly against the powerful conspiracy which has labored ceaselessly to pervert the course of the Russian Revolution and to sacrifice its noble social aspirations to the immediate establishment of a "strong" and orderly government. The Russian Revolution could not have mustered as much self-control as it needed to maintain order and to fight Germany to the bitter end without sacrificing the uncompromising and immediate preoccupation with social justice which is its peculiar contribution to civilization.

It looks as if the attitude which the New Republic assumed towards the Russian Revolution is finally being justified by the event. The policy of interference and coercion has failed hitherto to kill the Revolution or to loosen the grip of the Revolution on the social problem. The "strong" government which Russian nationalists have demanded ever since the failure of the first coalition ministry has come, but it has been created by the revolutionists rather than by their adversaries. It has survived by virtue of the same violent, oppressive and terrorist methods which a "strong" reactionary government would have employed; but, considering the savage attacks which it was obliged to meet from Russians and from foreigners, a measure of violence and terrorism was necessary to its survival. At all events, there it is, triumphant for the time being over its domestic enemies and unofficially recognized by its alien enemies. Born in part of desperation, exhaustion and famine, it is, we hope, about to be subjected to the test of normal industrial and social responsibilities. Will it show as much vitality in comparative prosperity as it has in adversity? In order to survive will it remain a class dictatorship resting on force or will it be able to combine radical social organization and programmes with economic efficiency, with democracy in government and with the free expression of opinion? These are the questions which are likely as a result of the coming conference to be asked of the Bolshevists, and while we have no clue to the actual answer, we have our own conviction as to what the answer has to be. As class dictators the Bolshevists cannot survive. It may be, indeed, it has been necessary to promote by force the right of industrial democracy in Russia to have a trial but when the trial takes place it must assume the character of an honest experiment. It must survive because it can endure criticism, effect results and conquer by voluntary popular consent.

The Minima of Railroad Reform

MUST we make a major political issue out of the railway question? Then the final outcome will be determined not by reason but by force. Misrepresentation will counter misrepresentation, fanaticism will pit itself against fanaticism, in the employ of the underlying conflict of brute interests. There will be inevitable demoralization of the service, deterioration of physical properties, and besides there will be sabotage, exerted now by the railway interest, now by the shipping interest, now by labor, all with the intent of exerting an influence upon public opinion. And the public, inconvenienced and irritated, will see sabotage where there is nothing but incompetence or bad luck. If we must settle the railway question by way of a political struggle, there is a period of economic disorder and uncertainty before us. Woe to the cities and towns that draw their life from railway transportation.

There ought to be a better way. It ought to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be possible, through dispassionate examination of the opposing views, to draw the margins between them so narrowly that no room would remain for disorderly conflict. Laissez faire and government seizure are the opposing poles of opinion. If those two opposites had to fight the matter out until the one prevailed, there would be no possibility of a harmonious solution. But there are not many Americans who desire either. Almost everyone recognizes that the railway service is not a private interest like tailoring or interior decorating, to govern itself under the principles of competition. The public interest is paramount. Almost everyone recognizes that the private interest in railroading is not an inherently immoral interest, like gambling or the patronage of a political machine. There are many who believe that the system of private capital has outlived its usefulness and is now an obstruction to the progress of mankind. But even among these the more fair minded are ready to admit that it is unreasonable and inexpedient to make war upon a single form of private capital. So long as the system obtains the railway property owner has the same right to consideration as any other. If he is in the way, let his interests be extinguished not at his own particular expense but at the expense of all capital, through taxation. If he is to remain, but shorn of certain privileges that other capital enjoys, such as the chance of speculative gains, let him be compensated by privileges having an equivalent market value, such as security of income. On these general principles most Americans would agree. And so long as this is the case there is no rational ground for an irrepressible conflict between the railway interests and the public.

But lack of adequate rational grounds for conflict has never prevented nations from going to war; it offers no basis for forecasting a harmonious adjustment between domestic economic interests. There need be no conflict between the railway property owners who demand only fair treatment and the majority of the general public who are willing to accord such treatment. But the railway property owners include in their number many who want not merely fair treatment, but everything besides that they can get, by whatever method. The public interest is misrepresented by some who make an abstract virtue of railway baiting, and see an ultimate value in the destruction of railway interests. The extremists on both sides are naturally more vociferous than the moderates and thus the conflict is made to appear sharper than it really is. Then there are the dogmatists on both sides, the men who assert that private ownership is always and necessarily inefficient and corrupt, and a source of political infection, and those who make similar assertions regarding public ownership. As a matter of fact, no one possessed of ordinary energy would find difficulty in assembling more "proofs" of the vices of private ownership than would suffice for conviction. And just as many proofs can be assembled on the other side. The history of private construction in America is full of shady episodes. So is the history of public construction in Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The government railways of Germany in the pre-war period were inferior to the American private railways in enterprise and operating efficiency. The private railways of France were inferior to the government railways of Germany. If we go over to public ownership American railway labor will be in politics. No doubt, but if we remain under private ownership, American railway capital will continue to be in politics as it always has been. Thus the debate goes on, to no result at all, except to prepare the way for a sharper struggle of interests than is compatible with the political health of the nation.

Neither private ownership nor government ownership is sacrosanct. They are different means to an end, the provision of adequate transportation at minimum expense and under fair conditions to those who perform the service. That end was not attained under the conditions that prevailed before the war. This everyone admits. Whether that was the fault of the railways or of government regulation or of both we cannot here inquire. It is sufficient that nobody wants to return to the old system. Important modifications must be made in it before we could be content to continue the system of private ownership.

In the first place, where the competition between lines produces serious waste of labor and capital, we must get rid of it. That means an end of the paralleling of a service which can be adequately cared for without it. It means a much higher development of cooperation between the railways for the creation of common terminals and the like. There is no technical reason why this elimination of waste cannot be effected under private ownership. But, let it be noted, every move in this direction reduces the possibility of differential gains. It tends to even out the earnings of the more efficient and the less efficient and thus to rob private enterprise of part of the stimulus to improvement which is supposed to make it superior to government enterprise.

In the second place, there ought to be coordination between the various forms of transportation. The railways ought not to be wasting their efforts in carrying overland goods that can be moved more cheaply by water. They ought not to be cutting rates in order to kill transportation by motors over the public highways. In the end there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will be work enough for all the transportation agencies of the country. Railway policy ought to be directed toward building up enough business which the railways alone can handle to occupy them fully. But such a policy would involve initial losses. They would be undertaken for the good of the country, but that is no adequate reason why the private railway should shoulder them, unless for every unit of traffic it abandons to other agencies it is permitted to levy additional charges upon the remaining traffic.

The railways must be permitted to earn profits sufficient to attract capital for necessary improvements. That means acceptance by the public of the principle that the level of rates must be adjusted to yield such a return on existing bona fide investments as will hold such investments around par. But first of all the whole structure of railway securities would have to be reorganized. It is useless to attempt to make the American people accept rates that would raise the whole existing volume of stocks and bonds to par. A railway stock which ranges around twenty on the market has a valid claim to a fair return on its market value, not on its par value. We may properly be expected to pay returns on capital, not on water. Squeeze all the water out so that existing stocks and bonds sell around par; then let rates be governed on the principle that earnings must be sufficient to keep the securities at an approximately stable value and there will be no serious difficulty about obtaining for the railways all the capital they need. The new capital, issued at par, under public authorization, will equally be entitled to rates keeping it near par. So much the railway property owner is entitled to. Anything more that he may demand, either on grounds of paper values of securities, of physical valuation or of original cost, ought to be denied him. That is what he could justly claim if the government extinguished his rights by acquiring the railways. It is the real interest on which he is entitled to earn a fair return.

But this return is a minimum. If private management exhibits any advantages at all over public management there will be superior roads, earning under a given schedule of rates more than the minimum return on capital. Such superior earnings are obviously not essential to the purpose of attracting capital. Therefore no considerable part of them ought to go to capital. Rather, they ought to be distributed between the working personnel, to whose superior efficiency they are in part due, and the government which as representative of the people should claim the gains due to general business growth.

There is no reason why private ownership, with the public interest thus safeguarded and the private interest thus fairly defined should not serve the national purposes well. Would public ownership serve those purposes better? It might, but only after undergoing a complete transformation in spirit. Before the government could operate the railways effectively it would have to accept the necessity of paying the market price for ability, as for everything else required. The government would have to realize the stupidity of a salary schedule that justifies the head of the railway system in abandoning the service of the United States in order to enter the service of Mary Pickford. The government would also have to realize that a great industrial service must not become permeated with the dispirited mood of the traditional bureaus. There would have to be made room for the principle of labor organization and for some system of profit sharing that would enlist the initiative of the whole personnel. The government would have to pay interest on capital sufficient to attract such amounts as were necessary. And, in inaugurating its enterprise, the government would have to buy out private interests at a price practically identical with the values on which the private holders would be permitted to earn returns if the railways remained in private hands.

If we are to have government ownership, it must be government ownership under a new form, animated by a new spirit. If we are to retain private ownership, it must be under a new form, with a new spirit. There would remain technical, administrative and political differences between public and private ownership. But they would not be so wide as to make either intolerable to the supporters of the other. There is not space between them for a partisan contest intense enough to disrupt our political life.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1919, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER

EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON
WALTER E. WEYL
SIGNE TOKSVIG, Assistant Editor

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FIVE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES FIFTEEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, SIX DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE: REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is Nationality in Politics Bankrupt?

WHEN is political nationalism not imperialism? Is there a political nationalism which does not aim at the attainment of Power in order to realize its aspirations, legitimate or illegitimate, and which seeks to achieve its proper destiny by peaceful, cultural means? It was but a short while ago when all that was forward-looking in humanity identified itself with the cause of political nationalism as championed by the oppressed peoples of the world. Was it an illusion, then, which men everywhere entertained when they supported these peoples in their struggle toward independence? Recent events certainly call for a new valuation of the problem of political nationalism. Those of us who gloried in the birth of new nations and the emancipation of oppressed races cannot any longer shut our eyes to the present display of the previously hidden dark forces by the unchained nationalities. From Czecho-Slovakia to Arabia, resurgent nationalism has shed the cloak of idealism in which it pleaded for humanity's support and has emerged into the present world situation as a destructive not a constructive force. It did not rise to the aid of the elements now battling for a permanent peace of justice and a new international order, but took over the part of that very imperialism against which the Great War was waged by the liberal world, and it is playing this part with a bitterness which is as hideous as that of fallen Prussianism.

In the struggle that is now going on in Paris for world freedom, where does resurrected nationalism stand? Is it aligned with the almost single-handed champion of the New World, who fought for it in the dark days of the war, or with those among the sinister diplomats of the old world who are clinging to the traditions of their trade? This is the decisive and final test of the success or failure of political nationalism, for the oppressed nationalities owed their debt of gratitude not to the imperialistic foreign offices of the great Powers, but to that body of liberal and radical public opinion which took up their cause from the very beginning, when it was nearly hopeless, and which is now fighting so desperately for the realization of its larger ideals under the leadership of President Wilson.

It was at the now celebrated Zimmerwald Conference of internationalist Socialists early in the war that the famous principle of "no annexations, no indemnities and the self-determination of all peoples" was born. It was the Russian Revolution that took up the neglected doctrine and, proclaiming it far and wide, made it a new power in the combat for universal justice and liberty. It was President Wilson who erected the principle into one of the chief watchwords of America's war against the Central Powers. It was English Labor which gave to it theoretically its widest application. In France and in Italy it was the radical element which consistently and against heavy odds upheld the aims of the oppressed nationalities. And in Germany the Reichstag's resolution of July, 1917, which conceded the principle of self-determination, was of course mainly the product of the efforts of the Social Democrats.

While the liberal world was thus struggling for the rights of the subjugated nationalities, what contribution did the diplomacy of the great Powers make to the cause of oppressed nationalities? The records have been published to a large extent, and from them one can discover the solutions of these national problems proposed and actually negotiated by the imperialistic diplomats. We know that these proposals and solutions were not based upon the principle of self-determination, but were in direct violation of it. The secret treaty concluded between the Allies and Italy was a flagrant repudiation of the rights of the Jugoslavs, the Albanians, the Greeks, and certain African natives. The agreements among Russia, Great Britain and France were just as arbitrary as regards the inalienable rights of the peoples whose destinies they proposed to settle. Persia, i. e., that part which had not previously been partitioned between Russia and Great Britain, was to come under the latter's complete sovereignty, while Kurdistan was surrendered to Tsardom. Syria was divided between Great Britain and France, and Armenia between France and Russia. It is on this ground apparently that the French Foreign Minister declared last month that France's rights in Armenia are "incontestable"! The Arabian kingdom of Hedjaz was to become a British "sphere of influence," while Mesopotamia was simply to be a dependency. The giving away of Constantinople to Russia constituted a plain infringement of the doctrine of self-determination, while the Russo-Allied policy toward a reunion of Poland, which is of indubitable right and could not possibly be shelved, was laid down by M. Sazonoff, then Foreign Minister to the Tzar, in the following instructions to the Russian Ambassador in Paris: "It is above all necessary to demand that the Polish question should be excluded from the subjects of international negotiation, and that all attempts to place

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Poland's future under the guarantee and control of the Powers should be prevented."

The treaty with Rumania was no less a violation of the principle of self-determination. It provided for the retention and annexation by Rumania of some pure Ruthenian, Magyar, Serbian and Turko-Bulgarian territory. As regards the division of the German colonies, where not national but racial rights only were concerned, is there any evidence of consideration for these rights displayed in all the recently published treaties dealing with the partition of the natives among Great Britain, France, Belgium and Japan?

In view of the respective attitudes toward the rights of nationality of the European diplomacy on the one hand, and the liberal opinion of the world as championed by President Wilson on the other, where were the emancipated nationalities to align themselves after November 11, 1918, if not back of President Wilson? If there was any real idealism in this resurgent nationalism, as it had led the world to believe, if there was any genuine passion for justice in the appeals of the various national parties of the subject peoples for political freedom, then there should have come spontaneously into existence upon the conclusion of the Great War an alliance of ideals between the United States and the liberated nationalities.

Immense was the opportunity these nationalities had; nor have they even now wholly lost it. If the Czecho-Slovaks, Jugoslavs, Greeks, Albanians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Esths, Finns, Georgians, Tartars, Armenians, Syrians, Jews, Arabs and Kurds had really been actuated by idealistic motives, if they had sought only the right of self-determination, if they had not striven for power and imperial statehood but for cultural nationalism and equal economic opportunities, then they would have risen to the occasion at the critical moment. These eighteen peoples of Europe and the Nearer East, banded together for the purpose of solving in a spirit of justice and co-operation all the national problems, would have found their leader in President Wilson. Arrayed together with the United States, as against the Clemenceau-Sonnino combination, they would even now carry the Peace Conference for a new world order.

But does the failure of the liberated nationalities to realize their larger debt to humanity prove that resurgent political nationalism is morally perverted?

In the solution of this problem lies the answer to the question whether political nationalism is entirely bankrupt or not. The nationalism of the great Powers is wedded to the idea of statehood, and it is not usually possible to put it to the test and separate the elements in it that are legitimate from those that are imperialistic. The radical-national party in an existing state is ordinarily regarded as anti-imperialistic. But is it so? We have the case of Russia after the Revolution as a proof of the contrary. Kerensky was regarded by the world and undoubtedly by himself as anti-imperialistic. He championed the best that there was in established political nationalism. But how meager was this "best"! Kerensky acknowledged the principle of self-determination in theory, but he hesitated to carry it into effect, incidentally paying a high price for this hesitation. His treatment of Finland was imperialistic. When this little northern nation determined to take control of its own sovereignty, his Provisional Government dispersed the Finnish Diet by force. What the result of this policy was is well known. A similar situation was created by Kerensky in Ukraine. Finland sought almost complete severance from Russia, but Ukraine desired only autonomous government within a federal Russian Republic. Had Kerensky granted this demand, the whole course of recent Russian history might have been different, for he could have established himself in Ukraine after his downfall in Petrograd and, backed by Ukrainian nationalism and the Allies, successfully have resisted Bolshevism and worked for the rehabilitation of all Russia. As it was, Kerensky's half-imperialism drove Finland and Ukraine into the arms of Prussianism.

In the case of Germany today we have a repetition of the Kerensky episode. Scheidemann and Ebert, who but a few months ago opposed Prussian imperialism, now lack the courage to come out and openly concede to Poland those parts of Prussia which are irrefutably Polish. A similar condition obtains in Poland. There Pilsudski took over and played the role of Kerensky with even greater zest, while the liberal world upheld him as the champion of legitimate Polish nationalism. As a matter of fact, all the outrages committed by Poland in recent weeks against its neighboring nationalities were not perpetrated by the avowedly imperialistic Dmowski-Paderewski group, but under the supreme command of the "socialistic" Pilsudski who was set up by progressives everywhere as the symbol of righteous political nationalism. And it was Pulsudski's prime minister who announced officially a month ago that Poland should embrace all of Lithuania!

There was a time—a very recent time—when resurgent nationalism made up the backbone of the opposition in their respective states. The Czechs, Poles, Jugoslavs, Ruthenes, Rumanians in Austria-Hungary; the Poles in Germany; the Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Esths, Finns, Georgians, Armenians and Tartars in Russia; the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Armenians, Kurds, Syrians, Jews, Arabs in Turkey; all these were avowedly anti-imperialistic, with the exception of small groups of nationalist renegades. But what has become of their anti-imperialism now? An analysis of the recent activities of all the unchained nationalities discloses a depressing fault. There is scarcely one among them sinned against who is not also a sinner.

The Czechs, who started out with such glorious promise, are already treating German Bohemia in a manner not far different from the treatment that they had received at the hands of Austria. Their tactics in Silesia, where they are in conflict by virtue of aggression with the Poles and Germans, are nothing but international piracy. The Poles, as we have already shown, have under Pilsudski fought every one of their neighbors. The Ukrainians of Galicia and Russia have, under radical governments, waged imperialistic warfare against Great Russia, White Russia, Poland and Rumania. The Rumanians, in addition to their dispute with the Ukrainians in Bukowina and the Great Russians in Lower Bessarabia, are distinct aggressors against the Magyars, Turks, Bulgars and Serbs. The latter claim much more of the Hungarian province of the Banat than is their due, and now find themselves opposed by the Rumanians who received the whole of the Banat from the generous Entente in return for entrance into the war on the side of the Allies and a pledge not to make a separate peace! The Jugoslavs who deservedly get the world's sympathy in their struggle with Italian imperialism are themselves no less offenders against Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and lo! against their own brothers. The Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria, the Croats in Baranja and Backa, the Serbs in the Banat, and united Jugoslavia in Bosnia are imperialistic in their policies and aims. But the most striking feature of Jugoslav imperialism is to be found within the confines of Jugoslavia, in Montenegro. There the Serbian imperialists, aided by the "radical" Croats, have conspired to depose King Nicholas in favor of the Serbian Crown, for which purpose a bogus assembly was called to declare Nicholas dethroned, but whose authority he very properly refused to acknowledge. As kings go, Nicholas of Montenegro is superior intellectually to Prince Alexander of Serbia. But the Jugoslavs not only manipulated this "deposal," but brought influence to bear upon France not to allow King Nicholas to return to his home country. Incidentally this pressure was exerted before the meeting of the "assembly." Nicholas applied for passports in November, but he has not received them yet.

The Montenegrins in their turn are not innocent of imperialism. Their aggression is directed at the Albanians, who are also the victims of Serbian imperialism. But Montenegro aims to deprive Albania of some of its best ports by annexation, although she could gain access to them through friendly means. The Albanians, the least organized nationality in the Balkans, have also been victimized by the Italians who occupied Valona and declared a protectorate over Albania in 1917. But it is potential Albanian imperialism which makes them favor an Italian protectorate in order to realize, with Italy's support, their claims in South Albania or northern Epirus, which are disputed by Greece, and not, unfortunately, in a spirit of justice and conciliation. The methods of Greece in Macedonia and especially its claim to Constantinople, are sheer imperialism, since the Turks are in an absolute majority in their capital.

In the Near East we are witnessing a display of greed which if not as well known is as reprehensible as that shown by the European nationalities. The Armenians, the victims of the Turks and Kurds, are seeking to build an empire at the expense of their less influential neighbors. The Armenian occupation, in conjunction with the British expedition, of Baku, the capital of the Tartar state of Azerbaijan, is aggression pure and simple, while the total disregard of the Armenians for the rights of the Kurds, who are awakening to the call of nationalism, is entirely too much in accord with the principles of their former oppressor, Turkey. The Georgians perhaps are the least offensive of the liberated peoples of Transcaucasia, but even they seek to impose their power upon the disputed territory in the vicinity of Trebizond, while the Tartars and the Kurds have distinct imperialistic aims, the former at the expense of Persia and the latter toward the Assyrians or Nestorians. The Syrians, whose nationalism is almost entirely limited to the Levant, seek to define their empire along the lines of geographical Syria, which extends from Alexandretta to the Red Sea, including Palestine, and embraces a population nine-tenths of which is identified with the Arabian nationalism of the Hedjaz and not with the "Syrianism" of the Francophile Levantines.

Resurgent political nationalism, instead of becoming an uplifting force in civilization upon its release from bondage, has thus turned into a seeker for power. Having suffered from the oppression of the great Powers, the emancipated nationalities had it in their hands to combine with President Wilson in an effort to seek a new motive in international relations, a new conception of the state, one not dedicated to oppression and exploitation but to justice and cultural development and cooperative civilization. This they failed to do. They not only failed to set up new goals, but they dis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

carded the very principles in the name of which they sought and obtained the support of the better part of mankind. They betrayed these champions of their cause by acknowledging the old gods, by kneeling to Power and fawning for its favors, by aiming to achieve, not a new sort of statehood, but the piratic political organization of an empire.

It is late in the day, but there is yet time for reformation and retraction. It is still possible for resurgent nationalism to throw its combined weight on the side of conciliation as against violence, friendship as against jealousy, cooperation as against exploitation. There is just time enough for the emancipated nationalities to abandon their quarrels and jointly align themselves beside President Wilson in a common fight against the old European diplomacy. Only thus can they prove that political nationalism is not bankrupt, is not synonymous with power and is not a contradiction of justice and right. Will they yet rise to this momentous opportunity? Is political nationalism capable of such a flight?

ISAAC DON LEVINE.

The Leadership of the English Liberals

By One of Them

FOR months Liberals in England have been debating who is their leader. The question was put one day at a great Liberal club to a newcomer. "President Wilson," he replied, and the answer was hailed gaily as a neat way out of a growing difficulty. The result of the General Election has made the problem more acute. Mr. George is Prime Minister but he is not the leader of the party; he is the leader of a section, and it is not to be denied that his policy of setting up accredited Coalition candidates against Liberals in the constituencies has broken the official Liberal party, and even, in the opinion of some, has reduced it to the lamentable state of Humpty Dumpty. Mr. Asquith, titular leader of the party, has disappeared with all his train. As is said in journalistic jargon of a reporter who, sent on a special mission, loses all touch with his paper, they have "fallen down a well." The Liberal party has no leader. Nor does anyone know who he will be. There used to be a newspaper in England with a long Answer to Correspondents column which, its critics said, consisted of the three formulas "We do not know," "we cannot say," "consult an expert." But the experts also are ignorant. Some say that Mr. George, summoning the Liberals in the House of Commons as Mr. Asquith did after he was deposed from office (but not, by the way, when he himself broke the Liberal government and established a Coalition) will have himself elected leader of the party. But, if so, his opponents threaten a split in the constituencies and the formation of a formal opposition party—a result which Mr. George, with his slender Liberal following, outweighed by the great Tory majority, most certainly does not desire. Others suggest that everyone will be content to leave things as they are, and that Mr. Asquith will remain leader, or that a meeting of delegates from the local Liberal federations will be held to confirm him in the office. It is a prospect that leaves many Liberals cold. For the fact is that while they have grave doubts about Mr. George, which he may yet remove, they have lost confidence in Mr. Asquith. Not a little of the enthusiasm with which President Wilson has been greeted by Liberal England is due to the forlorn condition of a great political party seeking a leadership lofty in conception and courageous in execution.

The trouble about Mr. Asquith is that all men make excuses for him. He has been ill advised by his lieutenants, some say. But in politics, as in war, a leader inspires and imposes himself on his lieutenants; in so far as he is led astray he is by so much less a leader. Whatever his defects, say others, he is a "great parliamentarian." True, but Parliament has lost caste these recent days and workers in too many constituencies report that the name of Mr. Asquith is received with bleak indifference. He has unquestionably the gift of dignified and, as they say, of "massive" eloquence, and certainly he would never have perpetrated some of the speeches by which Mr. George has lately saddened his friends. But this gift of words is perilous. There was during the war a debate in the Chamber on the French transport system and one of the deputies declared with bitterness that if words would make wagons move, France would have the finest transport system in the world. Mr. Asquith has given us too many words; they may "dominate" the House of Commons but outside it men are tired of them. He has publicly exalted the virtue of patience. Pitt called patience the greatest of the statesman's virtues and Mr. Asquith has declared his agreement with Pitt. But what a man may pleasantly call patience in himself others may call hesitation, lack of initiative or even lethargy. That is what has happened with Mr. Asquith.

Today Ireland is again seething with discontent and the spirit of rebellion, and Liberals cannot forget—and ought not to forget—that but for Mr. Asquith the Irish question might have been settled. It is well known that when in 1916 Mr. Lloyd George made his effort at conciliation, Nationalist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Ulster leaders were for the first time in modern history brought to an accord. Then was the time for action, for the master's hand, for the decisive stroke which public opinion would have gladly supported and which would have brought so happy a moral reinforcement to the side of England in the war. Was it patience or some less admirable quality that let the precious days drift by until the irreconcilables organized in Parliament, the press and the Ministry and the golden chance was lost? It is true that the situation, passing from bad to worse, was embittered beyond hope by Mr. George's own attempt, in 1918, to impose conscription on Ireland, but that does not attenuate, rather it deepens, the responsibility of Mr. Asquith. Again, many Liberals do not forget that it was Mr. Asquith who brought to nought the arrangement for state purchase which Mr. George had secured between all the parties to the liquor trade—an achievement almost beyond belief—when he used the intense pressure of war emergencies as a means of handling forces which in peace time would have been beyond control.

Mr. Asquith has great gifts both of mind and of speech, but as a war minister he had a task beyond his powers. Some who admit this say that nevertheless his gifts may fit him for leadership in time of peace. It is not so: the emergencies of peace that confront us are scarcely less urgent or the issues less momentous than those of war. In any case, why should we demand a lower standard in all the qualities of leadership for the normal process in which a people live and die than for the emergency of a few years of war? If the standard of government in war be the higher, we had better raise that of peace up to its level. Or is it only in killing, not in saving life, that efficiency is really fundamental?

But if not Mr. Asquith, who then? If Mr. George will allow us, if he will yet remain a Liberal, there is no one to compete with him. He is, as Mr. Bonar Law recently declared, the friend of the underdog. A son of Wales, he should be the champion of the small, weak peoples in all countries and empires, his own not excepted. He is active and enterprising, pertinacious and supple, especially the last. He makes his way to the end he has in view—sometimes a very necessary end—and we applaud, though we may not always like the means by which he gets there. He has vision and imagination, rare gifts in the politician, and he even "gets things done," which—most ironical of all!—is apparently an almost miraculous attribute among men who ought to be where they are largely because they possess it, but are usually there for some reason much less creditable.

But undeniably Mr. George has weaknesses. A champion of freedom in the abstract, he has personally the temperament of a dictator. He was quoted once as having longed in private conversation for a few months of Napoleon's power. The benevolent autocrat does not sort well with Liberalism. Mr. George is impulsive, impatient of opposition. For all his accessibility to other points of view, his conciliatory bearing in private negotiations, his wonderful skill in tactical manoeuvre, his tendency is too often towards the short cut and the strong hand; it was inevitable that such a temperament, restless and masterful, should come into violent conflict with the easy placidities of Mr. Asquith. But there are dangers. Which side of Mr. George's character will come uppermost if the storms break which threaten the immediate future? There is Ireland, for instance, and the underworld of labor? Will it be conciliation or the jackboot, the methods of Liberalism or Tory coercion?

Other things rouse suspicion. A good Liberal cares little about place and power but much about his principles, and on some points we do not quite know where we stand with Mr. George. He tells us that the war has altered things, that we must keep an open mind and so forth. An open mind is an excellent thing, but it is impossible not to observe that apparently it is only the Liberals who are to have it, and that in practice it means an approximation towards the principles of the Tory party who on their side stand pat with minds hermetically sealed. We cannot but remember their old appeals to Liberals in the days before the Flood to put foreign policy and the army and navy "beyond party," by which was simply meant that the policy of the Tory party should be accepted by Liberals on a "non-party" basis. Again—for irritation will out!—Mr. George has his ear too closely to the ground. He began the recent election campaign as a Premier and ended as a demagogue. From high aspirations in international and domestic policy he came to the level of the "stunt" press. But he forgot that the motives which impel the sensational press are very different from those which should actuate a Prime Minister. The "stunt" press does not propound a policy; it only offers a distraction. It knows the psychology of the mob, its need for relief from the monotony of life and, as the medical men say, for an alterative; it imitates the "movies" with their rapidity and variety of fare. But what a Premier says becomes a policy, and Liberals do not like an electioneering policy lifted from the "stunt" press and appealing to the least worthy motives that actuate a people at such times.

Mr. George, we hope, will put these things behind him and revert to the high plane on which he first made his appeal to Liberal principles. He has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

done much and much may be forgiven him. If he can lead the Tory party along the ways of Liberalism we shall rejoice. If they frustrate a Liberal policy and if, as he has already threatened, by way of a plain hint to them, he comes back to the people, there are many Liberals who will hail his leadership. There are, indeed, not a few of us who secretly hope that the Old Guard of the Tories will keep their minds so tightly closed that Mr. George will break with them and that the Liberal party may yet be able with united ranks to fall in behind its brilliant and wayward leader, who is incomparably the greatest political force, for good and for evil, in the England of today.

To What Green Altar?

WE came motoring down from the summer hills, into the little suburban town, at that miraculous hour after sunset when the trees and the houses stand apart, without their shadows, in the grave clarity of the evening air, withdrawn and very still and strangely seen as if the country side had become a toy in a glass ball and we were figures in it. Indescribable! It baffled you with the vague conviction that there was a line from an old poem that expressed it all magically, if you could only remember. Keats? Were you so old-fashioned that you were trying to quote Keats? "What little town—?" What was it?

The fluttering white dresses and ducks and tennis flannels of the suburbanites were coming "two-and-twoing" down the side streets and gathering into the wider avenue in a sauntering procession, all drawn in the one direction. Suddenly, you remembered that the missing line was from the Ode to a Grecian Urn. And, as usual, it had only the most distant relation to the scene that had recalled it: "What little town by river or seashore . . . is emptied of this folk?" Or was it the procession on the sidewalks that had recalled the ode: "Who are these coming to the sacrifice? To what green altar—?" Was there some strawberry festival tonight?

The electric light near the livery stable answered you. On the wall of the livery barn, the bills were posted for Mary Pickford in The Little American. The whole community was flocking to see her—Jersey farmers in their Fords, suburban society women in electric coupés, young sports sitting on their shoulder blades in racers, touring cars full of country-club families, a swarm of townspeople on foot, and all the children in the world hurrying and chattering. There were no pipes, no timbrels, no "wild ecstasy," if you listened only with the "sensual ear"; but you did not need to be a poet to understand that for the children, certainly, a joyous expectation was piping "to the spirit, ditties of no tone."

On that night, all over our continent, similar processions were streaming into the temples of the movies. You could see these worshippers, in the mind's eye, coming over a million hills, along the streets of a hundred thousand such little towns, eager to laugh, to weep, to be horrified, to love, to envy, to desire, to hate, to suffer, to be revitalized with every sort of emotion, to escape from their smaller selves into the general life of sympathetic imagination, to learn dissatisfaction and be led to aspire, to have adventures and see Beauty and be played upon by all the eloquent appeals of imaginative art. To what green altar? To their own shrine of æstheticism, of poetry and the drama and pictorial art, and the substance of things hoped for and the evidence of things unseen.

If education were a process merely of gorging the memory with facts, the movie houses would be little better than the corner saloons which they are superseding. They do not supply any solid mental food. The travelogue and the week's events are on the counter like the free lunch, but the make-believe, like the alcohol, is the desired stimulant, the drug against the worries of reality, the door of escape into the dream. It happens, however, that in making something more than an animal out of a man, the education of the sympathetic emotions is as valuable as any tuition in mathematics or any acquisition of practical knowledge in the common schools. It is by the quickening of imaginative sympathy that the beast is socialized, isn't it? His mind acquires the sensitive antennæ that keep him in friendly touch with his neighbors. He develops the organs of perception that apprehend such intangible realities as justice and right, altruism, fair play, the square deal, and all ideals of social honor.

So you assured yourself, at least. And from that point of view, these crowds of Americans, at the door of the movie theatre, were going to school. They were getting the rudiments of a spiritual education. If the teaching were as crude as A-B=Ab, it was still teaching. The man who reads anything is by so much superior to the man who reads nothing, isn't he? Let him read only the silliest fiction, he will live more broadly than he who reads none. Let Third Avenue go to any impossible melodrama and it cannot escape the ameliorating touch of imagination. Let America go to the movies and America will be a better place than when it stayed at home.

In this patronizing conviction you joined those who were going to school to Mary Pickford in The Little American. And you found that the film was far from being one at which to raise the supercilious eyebrow. There was in it at least one moment

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Greeks might envy. She was in France, after shipwreck, ridiculous in a soldier's greatcoat, clumsy in sabots, with a regimental cap that was too large for her raked absurdly over one ear. Wounded French soldiers on their stretchers were carried past her, and one of them, being stopped for a moment before her, seeing her uniform, raised his hand feebly in a military salute. There came over her face the look of a mother who sees a dying child reach for a toy from her hands. Pitiful and apologetic, with a halting, awkward, painful gesture she returned his salute, as if trying to comfort him with this symbol of the patriotism for which he was dying; and her face was all purely human maternal tenderness; and she tried even to smile encouragingly but with a certain heart-broken blindness as if she could not quite see him for the mist of tears in her eyes; and then the struggling smile achieved complete expression in a conflict of emotion that mirrored the most subtle aspects of reality as only a great imagination could conceive them.

There was nothing theatrical about it. There was nothing stereotyped. There was no attempt to achieve tragic sublimity and cry "Vive la France!" But you might go a long way and see a great deal of famous acting without meeting the expression of an emotion, so true, so poignant and so beautiful.

To what green altar? You had only to see the faces of the people coming out of the theatre to know that they had been to the altar of all the old gods of human culture. Those gods in the movies are disguised in whatever mask is needed to make them popular—whether it be Mary Pickford's curls or Charlie Chaplin's mustache—but they are still as potent as when the Grecians used them on a domestic urn, or the vagabond Shakespeare staged them in the yard of an Elizabethan inn, or Keats, the apothecary's clerk, rhymed them in his stanzas when his own name was so ridiculous to the Pharisees that he first published this ode To a Grecian Urn signed only with a printer's "dagger" (†).

HARVEY O'HIGGINS.

The Crisis in Demobilization

WE have entered upon what is undoubtedly the most troublesome period in our demobilization. It is a matter of two or three months. The extent to which it will develop into a crisis depends largely upon the promptness with which various expedients become operative.

The labor market is already temporarily saturated. This is not yet true of all sections nor can it ever be true of all types of employment. Shortages still exist generally throughout the Southeast as far north as Delaware and there is an active demand for certain classes of skilled workmen and a great potential demand for labor on the farms everywhere. Saturation does exist, however, in and around the industrial cities of the North, Middle West and Pacific Coast, which are not only important in point of the mere populations affected but are the natural centres from which the temper of the country draws its tone. Absolute figures are not available. Partial statistics, reliable as far as they go, show a tendency which is consistent enough to give a clue to the general situation and which is steep enough to be disturbing. The United States Employment Service receives weekly estimates of the current shortage or surplus of labor from its community labor boards in about 120 widely scattered cities. In the successive weeks since that ending November 30th, the number of cities reported as having marked surpluses of labor has been, respectively, 12, 16, 26, 37, 41, 48, 47, 55, 61. During this period the aggregate of the surpluses in these cities has risen steadily from 114,114 to 258,332. Sixty-five thousand—an unprecedentedly high figure—are reported to be out of work in Cleveland alone.

The same rapid approach to a point of saturation is revealed in the operations of the exchanges of the U. S. Employment Service. Although they touch directly only a small fraction of the total labor placements—some say 5 per cent, others 10 per cent—they too can record tendencies if not amounts. Whereas at the time of the armistice upwards of 350,000 opportunities of employment were registered, as against about 150,000 persons who applied for jobs, the gap has since closed week by week. By the last of January the registered opportunities for work had dwindled to 178,738. These figures are for the whole country; when the operations of the exchanges are put in terms of state balances they speak even more forcibly of the spread of the belt of unemployment. Since the first week of December the number of states in which the applications for work have been in excess of the jobs has jumped from 12 to 27. The condition to which these several tendencies point is clear. At a time when there are few persons who wish to risk trouble, the labor market is full in the very places where unrest is made or assuaged. The surplus is being thrown back in a rapidly spreading eddy of unemployment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is hard to disentangle and to measure the factors which are responsible for this situation. Up to the end of January, 952,411 enlisted men and 61,237 officers—a total of 1,013,648—had been released from military service. Thirty to forty-five per cent of the men about to be discharged, according to the experience of the representatives of the U. S. Employment Service in the camps, have had no definite jobs in sight or at least none which they were in a mood to accept. The effect of their discharge upon the labor situation has been aggravated by their undoubted tendency to congregate, at least temporarily, in the larger cities. Perhaps the over-seas men will be more inclined to go directly to their home communities, but some welfare workers among men in the camps here say that as many as half the men intend to "look around." This condition is invited by the method of demobilization whereby men are discharged at camps 350 miles or less from the places of their entry into service and are given a cash allowance for the railroad journey. It is idle to reopen here the controversy whether demobilization should have been handled by the local draft boards. As a partial substitute, the War Department has been urged to give the ticket itself instead of the cash allowance. It has not the power to do this under law, however, and will not ask Congress for a measure which smacks of coddling. Aside from the discharge of men from the camps, "war industries" have already been cut off, by cancellations or curtailments of orders, to the tune of six and a half billions. Unfortunately we do not know how many men and women were drawn in to meet war needs. Since the necessities of modern armies largely parallel civilian requirements, only a relatively small part of the so-called war industries have been inherently and entirely dependent on war. Many hundreds of thousands of workers, nevertheless, have been thrown on the labor market since the armistice.

On the other side are factors which limit our present capacity to absorb labor. It is the normal slack season. Then, too, a great deal of working capital is tied up, both directly and indirectly, in adjustments which are still pending in the War Department and which, in the case of over $1,600,000,000 involved in informal contracts, have had to wait on Congressional action. Back of it all, however, is the undeniable fact of a general stagnation of the country's energies. Some of the causes lie on the surface; others are remote and subtly mental. In a sense business is on strike against itself. The holders of supplies wish to sell only at war prices. The buyers are hungry enough but are reluctant to load until prices have broken. Each group is holding off, hoping to wear the other down. And doubtless business is a bit on strike, not merely against itself, but against high-priced labor. No one can say how long this paralysis will last, nor how long we shall hang stationary over the always difficult top rung of the ladder. Toward the end of January certain commodity prices showed signs of softening. It is morally certain that spring will bring an improvement in the situation. It is nearly as certain that there are booming times ahead. But for the next two or three months our ability to absorb labor will be narrowly limited. The rub in demobilization is here. It is time for the application of all the expedients which are at hand.

Such expedients naturally relate chiefly to matters which are subject to public control. On the negative side, there is the rate of demobilization; on the positive side, such factors as the adjustment of war contracts and the provision for public employment. If there were a small group, adequately staffed not for research but for day-to-day practical decisions, which could authoritatively interpret the situation to the several departments concerned, various other expedients could undoubtedly be discovered and applied. It is clearer every day that we are losing through the lack of such a body. Even now, if the Council of National Defense could get over being, in Mr. Hard's phase, an unresolved hexagon, it might get together such a body. In its absence, remedies must be worked out between the War Department and the not too single-voiced Department of Labor, Congress, and the scattered parts of our federal systems of government.

May we expect a lessening rate of discharge from the camps during the crucial months ahead? Probably not, so far as formal and ostensible action is concerned; practically, a modification is possible. Labor Department officials have suggested that for the next two months all individual soldiers who have jobs in sight, and only those, shall be discharged. The War Department, having once rejected the plan of demobilization by industrial units, now reaffirms its determined principle to be, in the language of General March's letter of January 23rd to Mr. Mann, "that all of our soldiers whose services are no longer needed are entitled to discharge." It finds the country's impatience more authoritative than the representations which have yet to come to it from the Department of Labor. It is impressed by the serious disturbance among English troops which it regards as marking the failure and virtual abandonment of the original English plan of demobilization, and it hesitates to add to the naturally difficult problem of peace-time morale in our camps by modifying the method of discharge. The War Department therefore pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

poses to demobilize, within the month, as many of the 785,000 men in camp here on January 27th as can be spared from the maintenance of "overhead" organization, probably 300,000 to 400,000 men. To these will be added the arrivals from over-seas, perhaps reaching 300,000 for the month, although much depends upon the decision regarding German shipping and other transportation arrangements still to be made.

As a matter of fact, although the War Department still maintains the policy of discharging the men as rapidly as military requirements permit, it has laid the basis in its own procedure for consideration of available employment in connection with the discharge of men. The rule of its so-called Circular 77 (November 21st) has permitted commanding officers to let out individual men to resume specific positions in which they were needed. In some camps this rule has been liberally applied. In others, the preoccupation of commanders with considerations of military organization long kept it virtually inoperative. On January 6th it was broadened by permission to commanding officers to discharge up to half of their personnel under its terms. On the converse side, a recent rule makes it possible for an individual soldier to remain temporarily in the service even when his unit is discharged. Already, at the promptings of the morale officers, the camp papers are featuring the slogan, "use Uncle Sam as an umbrella." Prospective legislation reopening enlistment in the regular army, already through one house of Congress, is expected still further to relieve the situation. Undoubtedly the War Department will place increasing emphasis upon discharge by individual cases under Circular 77. It may even quietly slow up the general rate. The country, if it must write letters to the Department and to Congress, will make that decision easier by telling of the labor situation which is rapidly coming to a head in the cities to which our former soldiers go.

What of positive expedients, which will open up opportunities for employment? After some hesitation as to method, Congress has just sent to conference a bill authorizing the settlement of the many informal contracts entered into by the War Department. If this legislation becomes effective promptly and the War Contracts Appeals Commission provided under it does not involve undue obstruction, the situation in private industry will be considerably relieved, especially for small concerns which, with their working capital tied up, have been unable to get further accommodations from the banks. In the field of public employment, unusual interest in public improvements has undoubtedly been developed. It is probable that the total expenditures for this purpose by all governmental units will run this year far beyond the normal $600,000,000. Already 500 cities, with many of the largest unrecorded, have reported $167,000,000 of proposed improvements. At least $143,000,000 will be spent on roads, aside from the $40,000,000 of federal aid funds already available and the much larger sums which will probably be provided. The relief which such employment will bring to the labor situation affects, of course, only limited classes of workers, but is not less valuable for this reason. Unfortunately, such relief is liable not to become effective, even for these classes, during the time when the employment situation will be at its worst. Many improvements must wait for the open season; besides, there are time-taking financial arrangements to be made. The latter is a condition, among others, which the bill recently introduced by Senator Kenyon proposes to mitigate. In addition to the establishment of a United States Emergency Public Works Board and the appropriation to it of $100,000,000, the bill would authorize loans up to $300,000,000 by the War Finance Corporation to state and local governments for immediate public improvements in places certified by the Secretary of Labor to be facing serious unemployment. Not the least reason why the government should immediately push all its outstanding building possibilities is the wholesome reaction which such action will have on the vast private building industry of the country, now a year or more behind the potential demand. Higher prices must be frankly faced. Between the third and the twentieth of January the Supervising Architect opened bids on thirty-eight authorized federal buildings. The lowest bids ran from six to ninety per cent above the margins of cost set last year by Congress and only three projects could be awarded. Unless the government drives ahead with its own building, however, it cannot press effectively the educational measures which it has begun to thaw out and to hurry private building.

Above all there must be rapid, intensive development of the machinery for the placement of labor. In war-time, placement was a relatively crude process of raking off the high places to fill gaping deficiencies; the appeal was primarily to the employees. Now it is a matter of the nice adjustment of particles of labor; the appeal is primarily to the employers. The scheme which has been devised for meeting this problem is more complete, in its outlines at least, than current comments on reconstruction indicate. The U. S. Employment Service has representatives in forty-five camps. Arrangements to give them access to the men before discharge are improving rapidly, as commanders appreciate the gravity of the employment situation. When a man is about to be discharged with no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

definite position in sight, the camp representative sends advance notice through the appropriate State Employment Service Director to the community to which the soldier will go. A net-work of so-called Bureaus for Returning Soldiers, Sailors and War Workers has been rapidly extended. It includes, in addition to the 750 regular exchanges of the Employment Service, about 1,900 special Bureaus; others are being added. The local councils of defense, acting with the community labor boards where they exist or in their absence alone, have served as creative nuclei in calling together the boards of management for the emergency officers. Eleven national agencies, including the American Red Cross, the American Federation of Labor, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., the National Catholic War Council, the Jewish Welfare Board, and the General War Time Commission of Churches, participate in a central committee in Washington and are pledged to conduct all local placement activities in concert with the Bureaus for Returning Soldiers, Sailors and War Workers. The purpose is to create a system of employment offices which will be so well known that no returning soldier can miss them and so well supported by all organizations and interests that every available opportunity will be listed with them. The outlines are there. It now remains to galvanize and popularize the new bureaus and to fine-comb commerce and industry on their behalf.

The present situation is serious because, in addition to the potential unrest resident in the expectations aroused by the war, the country has a new perspective regarding unemployment. It is done with the idea that jobs are to be filled as the grocer dips and smoothes off his measure in a barrel.

Doubtless we are near a period of unusual prosperity. It was even more certain, in the fall of 1914, that such a period was ahead for American industry. That knowledge did not prevent the disastrous unemployment of the winter of 1914-15. We cannot afford to take the coming months lightly nor to leave a single expedient untried.

ARTHUR MACMAHON.

A Paris News-Stand

FRENCH public opinion as reflected in America during the war, or even after the armistice, was largely one sort of opinion—that carefully strained through the censorship, or, what amounted to the same thing, distributed here by official propagandists. The opinions expressed in Paris from day to day were much more varied—a good deal more varied, indeed, than they are at home.

American newspapers are alike, of course, just as Americans, compared with class-conscious Europeans, are alike. Both, roughly speaking, are "bourzhooy," as the Russians would say, and anyone who pokes his head out of this uniformity is promptly jumped on as queer.

Not so the French press. The papers which the canny Paris news-lady—herself firmly fixed in her little niche in the French social hierarchy—carefully folds before she hands to you, represent all the varied layers of an elaborately stratified social life. Nationalist and socialist, clerical and anti-clerical, each equally well written, witty and persuasive, lie side by side. And only the more conventional of them are quoted, generally, in despatches to America.

In the Action Française, for instance, a paper founded about ten years ago by a group of enthusiastic young French royalists, you will find the royalist, Mr. Charles Maurras, passionately trying to restore a France which most people supposed disappeared forever with Louis XVI, and right next to him, in the Populaire, Mr. Jean Longuet, being as Bolshevik as he can without getting into jail. And there is everything in between.

To an American there is something peculiarly novel and entertaining in Mr. Maurras and the Action Française—in quite seriously and sincerely fighting to restore a monarchy (remaining meanwhile a patriotic Frenchman), at a moment when the few remaining crowns of Europe are tumbling and all the world fighting for what it calls Democracy.

A Kansas farmer, picturing a French royalist, might think of a sort of corseted dandy, some empty-headed anachronism, all shallow elegance and affectation. Mr. Maurras is nothing of the sort. He is a scholar and a serious man; a tireless dialectician, arguing for monarchy, not as a mere return to swords and snuff boxes, but as the only rational form of government, if not for all nations, at any rate for France.

Now of course a good theoretical case can always be made out for government by a benevolent autocracy, rather than by more or less haphazard and unwieldy legislatures. The same arguments can always be used against representative government for a nation that would be used against representative government for an army. In moments of great stress, like those of war, all nations become autocratic and ever since April, 1917, President Wilson has been in effect, of course, a benevolent king.

In theory, a royal family gives that continuity of purpose difficult or impossible to maintain with constantly changing presidents and legislatures. If you are running a factory you do not think of electing a new president and board of directors every few years or months.

In theory, a king, freed from the worry of holding his job, or of getting another one, devotes himself exclusively to the good of the people. His success is in making them happy and successful. His selfish interest is to make a "good" king.

If stupid, it is to his interest to surround himself, not by men to whom he is merely indebted politically, but by those most able and disinterested. Legislatures often talk when they ought to act and save action for their private affairs. If things go wrong in a monarchy the king, in theory, can apply the necessary remedy much quicker than it could be applied in a representative government by an elaborate campaign of education and a new administration.

If you say that a king may go wrong, Mr. Maurras re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plies that six hundred deputies may also go wrong. And if you suggest that the six hundred might neutralize each other's wrongness, he answers that what is needed, in a great modern nation like France, is not inertia but initiative, and vigorous decisions from day to day. Universal suffrage he would use as an organ of supervision instead of sovereignty. A king of modern France, so he would say, would not return to the economic conditions of the seventeenth century. He would be king of the labor unions and syndicates as well as of the army and navy, and supreme in international matters, he could afford to permit a greater liberty in local affairs. The top-heavy centralization from which everybody agrees France suffers could be relieved. With a strong, flexible, central power to handle national questions there could be more home rule in the provinces.

Mr. Maurras has written a book as big as a moderate-sized encyclopaedia, entitled Enquête sur la Monarchie, compiling the ideas of the Duke of Orleans, the Monarchical candidate for the throne, of his political manager, and many enthusiastic monarchists, and the objections to monarchy made by various individuals and newspapers. Mr. Maurras answers these at length and these arguments are repeated day after day in the Action Française applied to questions of the hour.

The royalists can scarcely be taken seriously in the sense that they are ever likely to succeed in getting what they think they want, but it is true that there was a renaissance of the royalist idea in France, some ten years ago and that a good many high-spirited, if, socially, somewhat esoteric young men have rallied round this idea of "conscious, deliberate, rational nationalism."

The ingenuity of Mr. Maurras in what one might think an impossible situation was, all through the summer and autumn, interesting to watch. He turned the most unexpected ammunition into his own editorial fire. You propose a league of nations, for instance, and that these nations shall follow the same laws which modern civilized individuals follow in their relations with each other.

Very good, says Mr. Maurras. But this supposes society, of course, to "have a high degree of personality and humanity—will, memory, conscience. A mob doesn't have these qualities. It is not a man nor a society of men. To humanize it, to give it conscience, memory and will, it must be made into a state, and a state can't exercise moral duties if united in space and divided in time; if it begins its life over again every instant and forgets tomorrow what it learned today.

"The sort of progress people are asked to accomplish with a league of nations demands not the usual revolutionary thesis but personal power based on a robust hierarchy animated by sound tradition. You cannot humanize the world by making it invertebrate. If society is to attain high spiritual virtues, it must have the natural organs to spirituality. You cannot give it a moral constitution of the superior vertebrates by reducing its physical conditions to those of molluscs."

In other words, if a nation is to be as capable of morality as an individual, it must have what an individual possesses,—a personal government, or as Mr. Maurras would say, a king.

You might think that the battle cry of "down with militarism and the Hohenzollerns" would embarrass Mr. Maurras. Doubtless it did but he was ingenious about it, nevertheless. His argument was that the Prussians were militarists and harsh because they were Prussians, and not because they had a monarchy,—indeed, it was largely because the Germans had had a government benevolently autocratic—at least so far as Germans were concerned—that they had been able to put into practice industrial reforms at a time when other nations only talked about them.

The Action Française stood up for Mr. Clemenceau even though they were not fond of him because "his patriotism, energy, and spirit of decision have strengthened public feeling and given confidence to the Army. He should be followed by French royalists just as we would wish that patriotic republicans should follow, in a similar occasion, the King, no matter who he was."

Their belief in a strong central government made them support whatever government there was—the weaker it was the more it was necessary to back it up. Just because the Germans did not have similar difficulties, "precisely because the enemy is superior to us there, we ought to use all our intelligence and will to compensate that superiority and sustain whatever civil or military power carries the sword and flag of the French people."

It will be seen that the behavior of the Action Française was not without its attractiveness. Indeed, so long as Maurras was merely talking about the good old days, the days of Racine and Corneille and the Grand Monarque, he was decidedly attractive. It was only after the armistice, after France's uphill fight had ceased and it seemed that almost anything was possible, that Mr. Maurras's tone—together with that of reactionaries, generally—changed disagreeably, and in his completely egoistic nationalism, the calm cynicism of his barbarous proposals, he suggested how anti-social and anti-humane his sentimentalized medievalism might become if it were ever put into practice.

Medievalism is picturesque and attractive only so long as it is merely pictured or talked about. It ceases to be livable, as soon as moderns try to live it.

Mr. Leon Daudet, the son of the novelist, is the other member of the Action Française team, and while Maurras handles politics, he goes after personalities. He is as violent and abusive as Maurras is generally restrained and courteous—a veritable "terror to snakes" as I once heard him described, so that he generally succeeds in prejudicing the disinterested spectator in favor of the man he attacks. He was one of the most aggressive witnesses for the prosecution in the Malvy trial.

"Squint-eyed crook . . . his bandit friends . . . slinking apostles of western Bolshevism . . . cult of the Ya . . . traitors, liars, pillage and massacre, etc., etc."—it is in this sort of jargon that Daudet always speaks.

There is nothing in our impersonal journalism to compare with the personalities of the Paris press, partly, of course, because our editorials are generally anonymous and it is not the individual but the powerful abstraction of the paper itself which is visible to outsiders. Editorials, and reporters' stories too, are generally signed in French papers and many of the smaller sheets are mere personal organs in which some political writer or party chief can air his views.

Mr. Gustave Téry of L'Oeuvre, one of the particular objects of Mr. Daudet's attentions, once replied by publishing a little pamphlet called a Dictionary of Calumny, going through the alphabet from A to Z and showing that at some time or other Daudet had lambasted practically everybody and everything in France. The venerable Anatole France was very moderately hit off in this list as "a timid Socrates who at the mere sight of the wormwood would have an attack of colic." A similar pamphlet was published in reply showing either from Téry's own writings or things said about him that he had committed about every crime short of cannibalism.

At the other political pole from the Action Française is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Populaire of the Socialist Left. Its editor, Mr. Jean Longuet, is a grandson of Karl Marx—which Daudet naturally never lets his public forget—and it preaches so far as the censor will let it, a scarcely disguised proletarian revolution. In doing so it not infrequently prints useful information and suggestive opinions. It was the only Paris paper last autumn to give any adequate account of the work done—and real work was done—by the Russian soviets.

When Madame Paquin was being questioned last summer about the starvation wages she paid her seamstresses she was neatly disposed of in the Populaire as "a woman to whom the government has given the Cross of the Legion of Honor for her success in the art of decorating rich women by exploiting poor ones."

The Populaire's attitude on the war was often pacifistic and several weeks before the armistice Romain Rolland was writing there on "internationalizing the human spirit":

> "If there are men today who ought to be modest they are the intellectuals. Their rôle in this war has been frightful. One doesn't know how to pardon them. Not only have they done nothing to diminish mutual incomprehension and limit hatred but with few exceptions they have done everything to add to it and make it more venomous. This war has been in one way their war. They have poisoned thousands of minds with their murderous notions; and sure of their truth, proud, implacable, sacrificed to the triumph of phantoms of their spirit millions of young lives. History will never forget it.
>
> "It will be years before there can be personal cooperation between the intellectuals of belligerent countries. Men over fifty will probably never get together. The only hope is in the soldiers themselves, who have learned during four years in the mud of the trenches, under the claws of death, that they are of the same suffering flesh. Every country which shuts itself up today is condemned to die. It is truly ridiculous that the nations of western Europe should try to find profound differences between each other at a moment when all of them were never more alike in their qualities and their defects."

The Populaire, the Journal du Peuple, the Vérité (Truth)—which Daudet always speaks of as the Mensonge (Lie)—represent the extreme Left, those who are, or at any rate were, for recent developments have shifted lines more or less, the Minority Socialists. The less extreme, until recently, at any rate, the Majority Socialists—including such men as Albert Thomas, Renaudel and Marcel Sembat—are represented by L'Humanité, the official Socialist paper established by Jaurès, Gustave Hervé's Victoire and various little sheets which are the personal organs of small groups.

In between these extremes, in between the monarchists and the collectivists, are the papers we hear about more frequently in America—the dignified Temps, the organ of the Democratic Alliance, the party of Ribot, Tardieu and Deschanel; the Figaro; the Matin and Petit Parisien—both big newspapers as distinguished from literary and political journals—the Echo de Paris, representing the Liberal Action party, a Catholic minority, which supports the republican form of government; the Journal, which the Germans tried to buy during the war; the urbane old Journal des Débats, a well written literary and political paper, 130 years old, specially interesting in times like these for its scholarly articles on all phases of European politics.

All these papers are written with more literary style than our own, for a certain classicism and sense of form is a good deal more in the inheritance of Frenchmen than ourselves, but at the same time they have less influence than our own larger papers. A paper like the Chicago Tribune, for instance, which not only supplies news and—occasionally—political opinions but through such things as McCutcheon's cartoons, B. L. T.'s "Line O'Type" and Ring Lardner's "Wake of the News," acts as a sort of humanizing cement, for a large neighborhood, is unknown in France. However well written, papers are taken with more detachment and wariness.

In his amusing satire, The Republic of Comrades, a French writer, Robert de Jouvenal, has a chapter on journalism not entirely inapplicable to our own newspapers and suggesting some explanation for the French attitude toward the press.

"Papers," he says, "are spoken of as governmental when they are servile. They are called independent when they are merely governmental. They are spoken of as opposition journals when they coquet with the party in power.

"There exist certain rare organs not attached to the government by anything or anyone, but it is understood that one need not take them seriously. Thanks to these facts one can arrange papers in two categories:

"(1) Those who say nothing: (2) those whose remarks are of no importance.

"*Corollary:* As soon as the opinion of a journal commences to count for anything the paper ceases to have opinions."

This reminds one of a remark Clemenceau made when he was fighting the government in 1915: "The proper regime of the censor is to create two sorts of journalists, those who can say everything, and those to whom that right is refused. Those who can say everything have naturally nothing to say except what they are told to say. The others do not count since as soon as they look as if they were going to raise a voice they receive on the head an asphyxiating bomb."

Of advertising, he says, "It is thought good taste in certain journals, not to put too much in evidence the discomfiture of a business man, banker or charlatan, if he has advertised in their columns."

Of the change from politics to news he remarks: "The time has gone by when one can call the Frenchman a political animal. He lost interest in politics when he could make politics himself. Perhaps in this case, also, curiosity was the condition of love.

"It is the papers, it is said, which make public opinion. The opposite is no less true. The reader is quite ready to accept the opinion of his paper, but the paper chooses the opinion which seems best adapted to please the reader.

"From this reciprocity results an admirable harmony which does away with thinking for everybody. A paper, therefore, doesn't try the hopeless task of taking a position opposed by its clientele, for why sacrifice material to political interests when there is no chance of making them triumph? It is to sacrifice to one idea all one's other ideas. One should always offer to one's clientele the goods they prefer. It would be absurd to establish a tobacco store among a population which did not smoke, and it would not be less so to furnish a journal of violent opposition to a placid bourgeoisie respectful of institutions."

The little personal organs already mentioned mark another difference between the Paris press and ours. The papers of the "grande presse" are like our own big papers,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

businesses first and journals afterward, and the men who write them are largely hired men, like compositors and proofreaders. French politics are very complicated, however. Among the party groups from Right to Left are the Monarchist, Liberal Action, Nationalist, Progressive Republican, Democratic Alliance, Republican Socialist, Radical (a middle-class party with leanings toward modified socialism, of which Clemenceau was once, and later Cailleaux, leader), and Socialists.

Parties are often less parties in our sense of the word than groups rallying round this or that personality. And there are many little papers, therefore, equipped with a few writers and an office and the privilege of using somebody else's press, which pick up what news they can, but are read not so much for that, as for their daily political essay.

The Action Française is more solidly financed than some of the other smaller papers, but you buy it not for news but to read Maurras and Daudet, just as you buy the little moderate-Socialist L'Heure to read Marcel Sembat. L'Oeuvre is another of these little papers, mostly interesting for the observations of Gustave Téry. When the Echo de Paris was sneering at Mr. Wilson during the autumn, Téry referred to it as the "Echo de Barrès"—the novelist, Maurice Barrès being a violent nationalist whom Pertinax, the political writer of the Echo de Paris, might be said to echo. One day when Pertinax said that France was not bound "by anything that Wilson had said or typewritten," Téry responded that France was bound by one thing, "which, in plain French, is called gratitude."

L'Oeuvre's paragrapher ventured one day even to smile at the omniscience of the journalistic "military experts," and gave directions showing "how any child might become a military critic."

> "You pick out at haphazard from the file phrases numbers 2, 48, 640, 113, 954, and arrange them as follows: 'the valiant rampart of breasts which is protecting X—— from the tide of barbarism . . . the allied flags, fraternally enlaced, carrying in their folds . . . the enemy, without recuperating from the heavy sacrifices which his repulse has made him suffer, has thrown recklessly into the furnace . . . the pincers . . . the scissors . . . the threatened salient . . . the pocket . . . the net . . . the French *élan* and the valiant pioneers of the air . . . and to finish 'where will the next offensive be started? That is the secret of the High Command.'
>
> "Then if you wish certain fundamental truths and axioms to decorate an article, take for instance, 'the next three months will decide the struggle . . . the German command is so desperately in need of a victory . . . neutral travelers returning from Germany paint the situation as worse than ever . . . never have the allies been so well prepared to face a formidable attack . . . Kultur, the colossal bluff, the gigantic hypocrisy, the stupid trap into which we shall never fall, the elegant aviator, Ninette et Rintintin, the forage cap, rakishly cocked over one ear,' [a reference to the American soldiers,] 'the Kaiser's sinister birds . . . with these and Flaubert's Dictionary of Ideas, you can keep going for years."

L'Heure, another of these little papers, has the Deputy Marcel Sembat for its principal contributor. A moderate Socialist in politics, Minister of Public Works before Clemenceau came into power, author of a curiously interesting ante-bellum book, Make Peace or Make a King—(an argument against "revanche" and for a friendly compromise with Germany)—he is an unusual combination of wit and seriousness. Light to the point of frivolity, often, in his daily editorials for L'Heure, he is in private a student and serious man and to meet him you might take him at first glance for a physician or some professor of history or psychology. He is interested in and friendly to America and believes that after the peace there will be an opportunity for the mutually beneficial use of American capital, not only in France but in unfamiliar Spain. An enthusiastic advocate of President Wilson's peace suggestions Mr. Sembat contributed one day to L'Heure under the title "Down with Bismarckism" the following:

> "Why mince matters? What's the use of denying that there are two currents among us?
>
> "There are those who wish, as we do, that the Allied governments should be animated by the same spirit as President Wilson, and adhere at once and frankly to his fourteen points.
>
> "Against us there are those, both in the newspapers and in the government, who think Wilson imprudent and chimerical. They shrug their shoulders when Wilson's ideas are mentioned and make every effort to obstruct his action.
>
> "'Nothing gives Sembat the right to speak of our stubborn resistance,' says the Action Française. Why, it stands out in plain sight—this resistance! See how the Echo de Paris is trying to break the solidarity between Wilson's declarations and the decisions of the Allied governments! Is this confined to the papers? Would that it were!
>
> "I should like to think that that picture of a Minister branding a Havas despatch containing Wilson's reply and proclaiming at the top of his lungs how scandalized he was, were merely a dream. Let us assume that it was only a nightmare but let us take every precaution that this nightmare does not affect real life—that it doesn't determine the conduct of our government.
>
> "A friend arriving from Switzerland describes the unfortunate impression made on friendly neutrals by the language of a portion of the French press. At each success, they say, our pretensions get bigger and bigger just as the pan-Germanists last summer, after every advance, opened wider and wider their jaws to take in all the world.
>
> "We also have our worshippers of force. Bismarck has found pupils among us. In our generous and disinterested nation, in this France which rose as one man to fling back the invader, but not to invade other people's lands, there are unfortunately men who borrow from the Germans their cult of violence and contempt for law. It is the duty of all sensible Frenchmen to fight against them.
>
> "Do you know under what headline the Action Française announces the proposed manifesto of the radical parties? Here it is: Our Bolsheviks prepare a manifesto. We are not Bolsheviks—you know it well enough. But you are Bismarckians.
>
> "The victory of the Entente ought to destroy the spirit of Bismarck and his works. Down with Bismarck in Germany! But down with Bismarck in France as well!"

These words—there are many like them—were printed just before President Wilson arrived in France, and they suggest both the hope he had inspired and the difficulties awaiting him.

ARTHUR RUHL.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VERSE

Two Sonnets

Across the evening calm I faintly hear
The melody you loved; a violin
Sings through the listening air, far-off and thin,
The infinite music of our happy year.
The soul's dim gates are broken to let in
That gush of memories, and you are near,
Poised on the shadowy threshold whence appear
The prospects of the dreams we strove to win.
Rise wistfully, and fall away, and pass,
Frail music of impossible delight,
Steal into silence over the dark grass,
Dreams of the inner caverns of the night.
Strange that in those few hesitating bars
Are life and death, the orbits of the stars.

Calmer than mirrored waters after rain,
Calmer than all the swaying tides of sleep,
Profounder than the stony eyes that keep
Afternoon vigil on the ruined plain;
So drift they by, the cloudy forms that creep
In stealthy whiteness through the windless grain;
The twilight ebbs, and washed in the long rain,
I am their shepherd, pasturing my sheep.
They can not change; they can but wander here;
That is their destiny and also mine;
The fuel that I was, the flames they were,
Are vanished down the lost horizon line.
Likewise the stars have died; the silence hears
Only the footfall of the pastured years.

ROBERT SILLIMAN HILLYER.

Return

The leaves rain down upon the forest pond,
An elfin tarn green-shadowed in the fern;
Nine yews ensomber the wet bank, beyond
The autumn branches of the beeches burn
With yellow flame and red amid the green
And patches of the darkening sky between.

This is an ancient country; in this wood
The Druids raised their sacrificial stones;
Here the vast timeless silences still brood
Though the cold winds October monotones
Fan the enchanted senses with the dread
Of holiness long-past and beauty dead.

How far beyond this glade the day-world turns
Upon its pivot of reward and chance;
Farther than the first star that palely burns
Over the forest's meditative trance.
First star of evening, last star of day,
The one grows clear, the other dies away.

Will they come back who once beneath these trees
Invoked their long-forgotten gods with tears,
Who heard the sob of the same twilight breeze
Blow down the vistas of remembered years,
Beside the tarn's black waters where they stood
Close to their god, far from the multitude?

I watch, but they are long ago departed,
Far as the world of day, or as the star;
The forest loved her priests, and tranquil-hearted
They stole away in dim procession, far
Down the unechoing aisles, beyond recalling;
The moss grows on the stones, the leaves are falling.

In vain I listen for their hissing speech,
And seek white holy hands upon the air,
They told their worship to the yew and beech,
And left them with the secret, trembling there,
Nor shall they come at midnight nor at dawn;
The gods are dead; the votaries are gone.

A form floats toward me down the corridor
Of mighty trees, half-visioned through the haze,
And stands beside me on that empty shore;
So stand we there, and wonderingly gaze.
By the dead water, under the deep boughs,
My Love and I renew our ancient vows.

ROBERT SILLIMAN HILLYER.

Interval

The green canal is mottled with falling leaves,
Yellow leaves, fluttering silently;
A whirling gush ripples the woods, and heaves
The stricken branches with a sigh,
Then all is still again.
Unmoving, the green waterway receives
Ghosts of the dying forest to its breast;
Loneliness . . quiet . . not a wing has stirred
In the cold glades; no fish has leaped away
From the heavy waters; not a drop of rain
Distils from the pervading mist.
Sluggishly out of the west
A gray canal-boat glides, half-seen, unheard;
The sweating horses on the towpath sway
Backward and forward in a rhythmic strain;
It passes by, a dream within a dream,
Down the dark corridor of leaning trees,
Down the long waterways of endless fall.
A shiver stirs the woods; a fitful gleam
Of sun gilds the sky's overhanging brows;
Then shadowy silence, and the yellow stream
Of dead leaves dropping to the green canal.

ROBERT SILLIMAN HILLYER.

"I Can't Have Grief for Everything"

The Smith who made the manacles
With bar and bolt and link and ring,
Sang out above his hearty blows,
"I can't have grief for everything."

As Roger by his rope-walk went
The bramble-bird cheeped up to sing;
He cut the wanted coil, and said
"I can't have grief for everything."

The Lad who came to Ladder-lane
And saw his hemp-cravat a-string—
"Jack's doom's Jill's dole, but then," said he,
"I can't have grief for everything."

And I who carried bag and wig
Looked up and saw him turn and swing—
The dog he gave fixed eyes on me—
Can I have grief for everything?

PADRAIC COLUM.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Questions for Russia

SIR: These are times when I think all will agree that the world will advance most rapidly if those who are trying to make things better will discontinue generalities and condescend to specific statements of their desires and programmes. It is being very generally urged that we should endeavor to make some kind of terms with the "Soviet Republic" in Russia, leave it to work out its own political and social salvation, but assist it generously with all kinds of economic aid, aid which in last analysis cannot take any other form than supplies of money and capital: for I do not suppose American farmers, manufacturers, etc., can be expected to give foodstuffs, machinery, and the like for nothing, nor technical experts to pay their own salaries.

Therefore I ask frankly but respectfully—*who is going to pay for the economic rehabilitation of a Soviet Russia?*

The Bolshevists? How can they be trusted financially? Their whole philosophy teaches them to repudiate obligations to capitalists. Can any "bourgeois" western investor be blamed if he declines to loan a penny of private capital to a regime that tells its subjects that property is robbery?

Western nations? Of course that means largely the United States. Considering the infirmities and prejudices (if you please) of Americans, are they going to tax themselves heaven knows how many millions to aid a government wherein Lenine, Trotzky et al. remain at the seat of power?

Furthermore, before we tie ourselves up with any form of official friendship to the Bolshevist regime, what responsible American can execute any guarantee that a Soviet government (whatever its formal promises) will refrain from making its embassy at Washington and every consulate throughout the United States the centre for a "proletarian" propaganda, utterly unsettling to our orderly domestic life?

Likewise, one must insistently ask,—will the reception of the Soviet Republic into the company of nations, as a lawful going concern, in view of the methods by which it has been founded and maintained, (whatever be the exaggerated stories of its enemies), present an example tending to check the "direct action" elements in the United States or the reverse?

Finally, and let this be pressed with all courtesy, is the anxiety in certain American quarters for the success of the Soviet regime based *solely* upon a genuine love of Russia, or rather on a belief that Bolshevist success in Russia will prove a desirable wedge for the "Sovietizing" of America?

These are plain questions. They are capable of, and they require, complete and unevasive answers, if much of the present distrust about the whole Russian business is to be cleared away. Surely a frank reply is the least that can be expected from our alert and ultra-modern "intelligentzia" (what a snappy-up-to-the-second word that is!) who owe it to enlighten their hesitant and half-informed "bourgeois" brethren.

I have the honor to be merely a well intentioned representative of the latter unenlightened class.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

University of Minnesota.

"Our—Island of Guam"

"I do not think that the safety of the world or the making of peace, which is our first duty, is concerned very much with what happens in Africa or New Guinea and in the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands. We must protect our own interests there, which consist of the Island of Guam."

This forensic pearl was cast before Congress by Senator Lodge in the course of a debate on the proposed internationalization of the German colonies. On the evening of this same day (31st January), Senator Poindexter told the Republican Club of New York that he did not care what became of the Kamerun, Mesopotamia, or any of the German colonies. He even went farther, and declared that he did not believe that many other American citizens were interested in these matters.

Once upon a time there were a number of "other American citizens" who believed that our participation in the European war would impose upon our leaders the necessity for discussing international problems intelligently. One of these Americans may raise his despairing head to ask the two Senators if the fate of Tripoli, Morocco, and the Congo have also been matters of indifference to the peace of the world. If the Senators will turn the tables and consult the metropolitan journals of Europe, they will find London, Paris, and even Berlin manifesting a keen interest in very remote affairs. But perhaps the two Senators are not interested. These cities are not situated upon "our—Island of Guam." G. R.

As It Was in the Beginning

SIR: The following quotations, taken at random from representative English writers give a rather discouraging picture of a revolution which certain liberal organs have been disposed to treat leniently:

The new state which is pleased to style itself the only true democracy is found to be a "brigand confederation" in which "outrage, disorder and naked licentiousness" combine in a "depravity that rots like a canker at the heart of society." Under the new regime which is supposed to alleviate the lot of the former oppressed classes, there is "more taxation, poverty and general oppression than was ever known in any other country." In fact "so full of sores and ulcers" is this unhappy land "that her best friends turn from the loathsome creature in disgust," and "the tendency in this country [England] toward democracy is checked in view of the tattered and insolent guise in which republicanism has appeared in—[Russia? No.] America."

The quotations are taken from Dickens, The Foreign Quarterly for 1844, Thomas Brothers and Blackwood's Magazine, while Wordsworth contributes this:

"All who revere the memory of Penn
Grieve for the land on whose wild woods his name
Was fondly grafted with a virtuous aim,
Renounced, abandoned, by degenerate men,
For state-dishonor black as ever came
To upper air from Mammon's loathsome den."

The whole I have taken from John Graham Brooks's A Century of Foreign Criticism of the United States.

J. P. MCGONIGAL.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Things

IT was Cousin Eliza who converted the twins. Until she came to live with them, neither had taken the Christian religion seriously. This was partly because of their years, which were but little more than twelve apiece, and partly because of their mother, in whose light hands a New England Sunday in the eighteen-eighties, although different from other days, was not an engine of anybody's pain. Breakfast was half an hour later than on week days, church in the morning was more a habit than a compulsory service, and of an afternoon, even with base ball, lawn tennis and bicycling forbidden, there was still a good deal left to do. At the bottom of their rambling garden, hidden from stricter neighbors' eyes by bushes and low hills, the twins were free to play any not noisy game that could be played without implements. Here had scenes from the Iliad and the Odyssey been enacted, from Scottish history, from Marmion and The Lady of the Lake. And not dishonorably, not in violation of the rules, since sticks and pieces of board did not become implements just because you called them swords and shields. Whenever the twins took The Camp of Refuge for the book of their play they drew lots for the coveted role of the vanquished Saxons. It was Bill who often broke up the game, almost as often as he took the Saxon side, by insisting that he was a modern regiment, armed with rifles, arrived from America to strike terror into the Norman invaders. Jim could not see the fun of winning even in a good cause upon such easy terms.

All these pleasant Sundays had their ending when the boys' mother fell ill, and went to spend a winter or two at Mentone. Traveling with her and almost in charge of her to New York, stoutly waving goodbye to her from the wharf, making their unaided way home again, changings cars by themselves at Worcester—in all this there were ingredients which disguised the bitterness of her going. But once in their own house again they realized that joy had gone with her, and that Cousin Eliza had come. Many were Cousin Eliza's sins of doing and leaving undone. For example, she did not know how to laugh. Their mother's gaiety had been an air which played lightly with life's green leaves and dead twigs. How often they had stopped even an out-of-door game, and looked at each other, waiting, listening, while her laughter fluttered to them through open windows, as if lively bells were chiming an all's well that took time. Cousin Eliza never laughed, was not pleased when other people laughed, was displeased when boys laughed on a Sunday. She loaded the day with superfluous burden. To get the collect by heart after breakfast, to go to Sunday School and morning service, to learn before the midday dinner the Sunday School lesson that was a whole week off, to read edifying books after dinner, to close the day with evening service and a staid walk—such was the regimen Cousin Eliza imposed on two boys of twelve.

It was Jim who bore the earliest fruits of this treatment. Learning anything by heart was hateful to him, so he soon came to hate all collects. Two services plus a Sunday School were more than three times a morning service. By the sixth or seventh of Cousin Eliza's Sundays he loathed church as he would have loathed the three quails on the thirtieth day. Angry boredom sharpened the eyes he turned upon Cousin Eliza, and quickened his ears. He noticed first of all how in the Litany her responses were very contrite, and very loud. Therefore he set her down as a grand-stand player. In the second place, though she asked mercy upon us miserable sinners as if she had never done anything but sin, she was never known to own herself in the wrong out of church. "Some sort of a liar, that looks like," Jim thought, without saying it, even to Bill. He kept silent through the winter, doing his best to remember that his mother, too, was a Christian, and a better one than Cousin Eliza. But it was no use. Cousin Eliza was present. In the spring he refused to go to evening service, and Cousin Eliza was defeated by a tougher will than hers. After writing to his mother, and getting her answer, Jim let religion drop out of his mind.

Bill's conversion was a plant of slower growth. Cousin Eliza's noisy self-abasement when making the responses was merely something at first to imitate in privacy, and later, when he had become rather expert, to parody as exactly as he dared in church. The collects pleased his ear, particularly just before and during Advent, when they sounded as if some warrior had written them after putting on his armor of light. What first turned Bill's mind off the straight road were the improving books that Cousin Eliza bade him read, the works of Miss Sewell, certain Church of England novels by Miss Yonge, and the poems of Frances Ridley Havergal—flexible little red volumes, called The Ministry of Song, Under the Surface, Loyal Responses, Life Chords. These struck him as poor substitutes for the reading his mother had invited him to try on Sundays, for Agathos, Pilgrim's Progress, George Herbert and Walton's Lives. "Thus he sung on Earth," Walton had said of Mr. George Herbert, "such Hymns and Anthems, as the Angels, and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in Heaven"—when his mother read this aloud Bill liked it. There were no such sentences in the books dear to Cousin Eliza. What could the inside of her head be like? Bill set himself the task of finding out. He took soundings. When she quoted, not at first hand, St. Augustine's saying that the virtues of the pagans were splendid vices, Bill thought of Thermopylae and Salamis, of how Socrates refused to escape from prison, and that is how Bill came to put St. Augustine in Cousin Eliza's class.

St. Augustine's share in Bill's conversion was not so large, however, as the Reverend Joseph Blanco White's. Little did Cousin Eliza guess how she sapped the foundations of Bill's belief by forcing him to get Blanco White's only famous sonnet by heart. Perhaps the impression would have been less deep and lasting if she had not read to him, from the volume where the sonnet was lying in state, Leigh Hunt's opinion that in point of thought "it stands supreme, perhaps above all in any language: nor can we ponder it too deeply, or with too hopeful a reverence."

> Why do we then shun death with anxious strife?
> If light can thus deceive, wherefore not Life?

The Reverend Blanco White's idea, so far as Bill understood it, was that the next life was as much better than this life as night is better than day. To Bill, although he admitted night's good points, although it breathed adventure, although it was darkness about dark deeds, such as playing tick-tack on neighbor's windows, although it was a bringer of solitude and stars, this doctrine seemed unreal. Long did he ponder this sonnet, not with too hopeful or with any reverence, only to emerge from his meditations a conscious preferrer of this life and of the daylight.

P. L.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Heart of a Fool

In the Heart of a Fool, by William Allen White. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.60.

DEAR WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE,

Before you left for Europe you sent me your novel saying the first hundred pages were hard reading, but to keep right on. I've kept right on, to page 615, and it's up to me to say how I feel.

In size the book is a whopper. You had to get a whole middle western town into the book, and the book is so swollen and bulged with that town that it looks like a Christmas stocking. From the distant day that all your Ohioans settled on the sunny prairie up to the tragedy in sight of the country club, you have kept the full biography of Harvey in view, and you have wrapped it round the dozen or so people who rose with the prosperity of the town in Harvey proper, or who dug and strained and sweated in the mines and wells of South Harvey to build up that prosperity. It was natural that all sorts of men and women should be in close touch with one another in the young community, and you have used the fact most happily. The dried old spider Dan Sands becomes the capitalist. He works politically through the sly-fingered yet human little Indiana doctor Jim Nesbit. Nesbit's daughter Laura is the American goddess of your story—truth, beauty and goodness in her fair and stainless nature. The impractical spook-hunting editor Amos Adams has for son the rugged, red-haired Grant Adams, and this youth runs parallel to Laura until he has his misadventure and goes to work as a carpenter. The misadventure concerns a girl of luscious beauty who boards with the Adamses. She is a German—by accident?—and when her child is born Adamses' parents pretend that it is the late fruit of their own union. The deception succeeds, but Grant's descent to South Harvey leaves the way to Laura open for a newcomer, Thomas Van Dorn by name, a keen and glittering blade from the East. Van Dorn is a lawyer. His motto is, Evil be thou my good. His weak friend Fenn loves wine, Van Dorn has a different lechery. But during the interval of his courtship with Laura he restrains himself. It is only later that the beauty of Margaret Müller temps what you regard as his devilishness.

These are the destinies you explore. The attractive Van Dorn, the lovely Laura, the sensuous Margaret, the strong Grant Adams—these four young people come to typify the life of their time. For Van Dorn, through the wily doctor, there is a career as judge. This means essentially that he is the representative on the bench of certain interests that are exploiting the coal and gas and iron and oil which pour wealth into the lap of the middle west. For Adams there is a different existence. Industry has spewed on the prairie a vomit of immigrant labor, and in that honor Grant Adams is required to live. He knows at first-hand the rugose surface of industry, and he knows the forces that seethe and writhe beneath, sometimes shooting up a tongue of fire or flinging out a scarf of cloud. At first Laura is unaware of these realities. Under the pleasant trees of Harvey she goes her way, loves and marries Van Dorn and has her child; but the lust in the heart of Van Dorn creeps out to the lust in the heart of Margaret Müller, and soon Laura is disowned and freed. She does not then go to Grant Adams. He has become the brazen throat of labor's flaming desires, and he has no heart for his own happiness. But she goes to the squalor of South Harvey and becomes a volunteer in that war with poverty where the other fighters were conscript from birth.

To present that fight in a drama that ordinary Americans must understand—so I imagine you dreamed. On the one hand you saw the holy alliance between the spider-capitalist and the courts and the newspapers, with the voters marshalled to support it by able and nimble politicians who took no thought of the ultimate consequence. On the other hand you saw the human army that suffered the ultimate consequence—labor not only imprisoned by its need to earn its bread but labor baffled and harried and degraded, cheated, scourged, destroyed. You saw it not as a material struggle particularly. You saw it as the battle of democracy. And you thought of the terms on which alone it could be won—the re-conceiving of society as a Christian society, with the leader of labor as a supreme Christian. For, as you knew it, this community was at heart a Puritan community, and its politics should spring where Puritan politics always sprang, straight out of its religion. Was not the war with injustice, the injustice that gives rise to poverty, a war that must appeal to the Puritan? And so your carpenter flung in his lot with the poor and the oppressed, the drunkard and the prostitute, the little children and the broken human beings. In the fearful mine disaster men saved him. In an accident afterwards he crippled himself to save a fellow-worker. When the great strike was forced on South Harvey he became its leader, a revolutionist who did not resort to violence, a radical who sought out the Puritan conscience of America. And America in the person of the corporations had him arrested, taken before Pontius Pilate, seized by the mob and thereafter done to death. This, you say, is the heart of the struggle for human rights against property rights. It is the old struggle of God and Mammon. Mammon being the judge Van Dorn, cold, sneering, lecherous, self-seeking; God being labor Christianly led, the leadership carved by Irish fervor out of New England granite.

Well, William Allen White, I admire your purpose, but I stumble over your novel. For two reasons. First, I do not believe in novels where the people in those novels are crudely subordinated to the moral design of the creator. When morality comes in the door art flies out the window. Secondly, I do not believe the status of labor is acceptable even when injustice to labor is done away with, and therefore I am not content with the appeal to Puritan conscience. That appeal, presented after the big war, is strangely out of date. The Puritan revolution gave Kansas and the middle west its living tradition of Progressivism. Progressivism did well enough in a way and for a while. But where are the Progressives of yesteryear? In your own words, who killed Cock Robin? To appeal to Cock Robinism now is to go to war with an airgun. Labor is tired of Pontius Pilate and sick and tired of crucifixion. It isn't knocking at the Puritan heart any longer. It is sledge-hammering the Puritan head. The old romantic leader, the Grant Adams type, is like a poster-lithograph of melodramatic generalship. The new leader is a general who uses his strike scientifically. And what he plans is not a square deal at all. What he plans is a new social order.

But this clash of aspiration does not touch the first point, that art flies out the window when morality comes in down below. This is the basic difficulty I have with your novel. You believe simply and humbly in the ten commandments. You believe that the wages of sin is death. You hold to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the tenets of romantic love and salvation by faith and self-sacrifice and law and order. And so, natural progressive though you are, you subordinate your main observations of human nature and human character to these most irrelevant principles. This is one's chief kick against such artists as Harold Bell Wright and Laura Jean Libbey and Marie Corelli and Augusta Evans. They lay it on thick, don't they? Their luscious sensuous women, their sneering evil men, can be detected at the first glance from the top bench in the peanut gallery. But is there any difference between your method and theirs? You prove, as they do, that no artist can serve two masters.

You are an artist. When you are not an ambassador or an editor or a reporter or a publicity man or a Progressive, you are an artist—sometimes, even, when you are one or all of these. But In the Heart of a Fool was not written with its eye honestly on the human object. It was written by the romantic Puritan, with propaganda behind it. Think of giving to stale propaganda what was meant for the great American novel!

F. H.

Facts—and Values

Philosophy and the Social Problem, by Will Durant, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.50.

ONE is tempted to guess that when Mr. Durant came under the spell of John Dewey, there happened to him what, according to tradition, happened to Plotinus, the founder of Neo-Platonism. Plotinus, having found all other teachers of philosophy wanting, fell in with Ammonius of Alexandria. "That is the man I have been looking for," said Plotinus and stayed with Ammonius, as his disciple, for eleven years. Mr. Durant's period of apprenticeship has not, we may assume, been quite so long, but there can be little doubt that he has drunk deep, and at the fountain-head, of the gospel according to Dewey. Where else did he get that withering scorn of our poor "epistemologs"—weird tribe of philosophers, burrowers into artificial problems of the relation of subject to object, of thoughts to things, lovers of dusty books rather than of bright life, otiose parasitic beneficiaries of an outworn educational system, "talking"—mark the climax—"to students about God, not to statesmen about men"? Where else did he get that fine enthusiasm for the constructive use of organized intelligence, that lusty hunger for research, information, facts? Where else that fiery zeal for replacing "worship" by "control"?

Not that Mr. Durant shines only with a reflected light; not that his utterances are merely the echo of another's voice. He has plenty of ideas of his own with which to serve the cause of which he has made himself an apostle. What our modern democracies need more than anything else, he thinks, is an infusion of the spirit of Plato, of Carlyle, of Nietzsche—an aristocracy of trained minds, not ruling by force, but guiding and inspiring by persuasion, by the irresistible compelling power of an unceasing stream of hall-marked information which they will pour out month by month through the newspapers for the enlightenment of public opinion. "Unless wisdom and practical ability, philosophy and statesmanship, can be more closely bound together than they are, there will be no lessening of human misery." Modern democracies, to put it bluntly, are too stupid. We know too little. We think too little. We are too careless of the professors in our midst. And the professors are too careless of being used, have often become unfit to be used. Yet information is the panacea for all our troubles. The cure for all ills of the social body is for the social mind to *think,* think harder, keep ever thinking; or if it can't think itself, then to get the right man to think for it. Intelligence must be organized in the service of society. Let us have a "Society for Social Research." Let the experts in "biology, psychology, sociology, history, economics, law, politics, philosophy," get together, set up committees, draw up authoritative reports of "general findings," and thus devote their special knowledge, at present wasted in the desert air of university class-rooms, to the formation of an instructed public opinion throughout the citizen-body. Let our leading painters and poets and novelists give "the world every month, in individual instalments, their judgment on current fiction, drama, poetry, English literature in general." "Imagine eager young men and women poring over these conflicting lists, discussing them, making lists of their own, and getting guidance so." Let artistic production be stimulated by rich men who, instead of paying fancy prices for the works of dead artists, should offer substantial prizes to reward living geniuses acclaimed as such by the judgments of their peers, duly collected and averaged. Let us have more creation and recreation, more art and more games. Let us have an education which encourages originality rather than conformity, experiment and exploration rather than routine and repetition, the spirit of adventure rather than the spirit of safety. Let our schools stimulate a healthy curiosity and satisfy it by solid instruction, instead of putting blinkers on the enquiring mind in the interests of the governing classes. Let us use our latent resources of brains. Let thinking once more be a power in the land. Let us have philosopher-kings.

Whatever we may think of the details of Mr. Durant's programme, this urgent call to philosophy to resume its traditional role as the "guide to life" is not only profoundly significant of the temper of the present age, but also the most hopeful sign of its return, so to speak, to spiritual health. Blind groping will solve no problems. Men look for light to science and to philosophy—to science for facts and means, to philosophy for values and ends. The Editorial Committee of the Modern Legal Philosophy Series, which counts among its members many of the most prominent teachers of law in this country, declares in the General Introduction to the Series that "philosophers must become lawyers or lawyers philosophers, if our law is ever to be advanced into its perfect working." In a similar spirit, Professor John Dewey is teaching us to look to philosophy for the perfecting of the working of society, and calling upon philosophers to rise to the greatness of their opportunity and responsibility. Mr. Durant supports the same line of thought by trying to show in his book that the social problem has been the fundamental concern of many great philosophers, that philosophy is the first condition of success in the solution of this problem, and that nothing will so surely infuse fresh life into philosophy as its return to this problem. For at present philosophy is dead. It has ceased to be feared, because it has ceased to move the world. The imprisonment of Mr. Bertrand Russell is, he thinks, the first promise of its resurrection. "When philosophers are once more feared, philosophy will once more be respected."

In support of these theses, Mr. Durant gives brief, but live and sympathetic sketches of Socrates, Plato, Bacon, Spinoza, and Nietzsche—taking from each an ingredient

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for his own synthetic ideal: "The Socratic plea for intelligence, the Platonic hope for philosopher-kings, Bacon's dream of knowledge organized and ruling the world, Spinoza's gentle insistence on democracy as the avenue of development, and Nietzsche's passionate defence of aristocracy and power." Thus armed, he examines, in the second half of his book, the various *-isms* and nostrums which seek to define the blind longing for better things, and shows them to be superficial. They are ill informed about facts; and, what is worse, they are astray in their values and ideals. Nothing but the fullest training and organization of intelligence holds out any hope of mankind acquiring control of it own destiny and making for itself a better earth, if not a better heaven.

Even a sympathetic critic, however, cannot but note that Mr. Durant has left a good many loose ends about his argument. The social problem he defines as "the problem of reducing human misery by modifying social institutions." Is not this altogether too simple? True, Mr. Durant hastens to add, that "misery is related to desire and desire is personal and in perpetual flux"; and elsewhere he employs the significant phrase "*criticized* desires." But nowhere, I think, does he give us any real help towards such a criticism. In no other subject do men need instruction so urgently as in what is really worth desiring, i. e., in what will genuinely satisfy a spiritual, or, if Mr. Durant prefers it, a reasonable being. Bad social institutions count for much. Misdirected, unintelligent desire counts for more, especially desire blind to the fundamental values—take, for example, prostitution. To criticize desires, which means, as Mr. Durant knows from Plato, to discipline, educate, systematize them, demands an insight into *values,* an "idea of good." Mr. Durant acknowledges this. The business of philosophy, he says, is to enlighten us about values. Yes, but let him note well that this is a much larger problem than that of modifying social institutions, and that the results of an enquiry into values may in many respects not bear directly on social reform at all. Mr. Durant not only does not enter into this topic of *values* at all, but when pressed by his own argument for the fruits of organized intelligence, invariably falls back merely on information, i. e., on *facts*. But no accumulation of facts will, without profound insight into values, yield a course of conduct or a social policy tending towards better things. The same over-simplification and one-sidedness appear in Mr. Durant's treatment of his philosophical heroes. The uninformed reader gets no hint in his pages that Plato wrote not only the Republic, but also the Timaeus, the Theaetatus, the Parmenides which have nothing to do with the social problem; and he keeps suspiciously out of sight the fact that the Spinoza of the Tractatus Theologico-politicus makes his Ethics culminate in the magnificent ideal of the "intellectual love of God," which might have taught Mr. Durant that mysticism may go together with the training of the intellect, worship with control, and that it is not necessary "scandalously to neglect the Absolute," in order to be zealous for all good causes. He might have learnt this even from Hegel, concerning whom he repeats only the silly sallies fashionable among the unscholarly. And grim realist as Mr. Durant tries to be in his vision of the social facts which need reforming, he shows himself luridly melodramatic in his picture of a slum-dweller's life (pp. 185-7). Even as it stands, that picture is grossly one-sided and incomplete, and the suggestion that such a life is typical of average working-class existence is an insult. The working-classes have sufferings and grievances enough, without being used as a select object-lesson of meanness and sordidness, vice and crime. Mr. Durant claims for the philosophy that he studies experience "as a whole." Let him ask himself honestly whether he has practised this wholeness of study in this instance or, indeed, throughout his book. We may leave the answer confidently to him.

TIFFANY & CO.

JEWELRY SILVERWARE WATCHES CLOCKS
BRONZES CHINA GLASS STATIONERY

DISTINCTIVE MERIT

THE MAIL SERVICE GIVES PROMPT ATTENTION

FIFTH AVENUE & 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

Are these harsh criticisms? Perhaps—yet the point of their severity is to bring home to Mr. Durant that he is in danger of impoverishing, in his application of it, his own fine ideal of what a philosopher should be.

> "He would be a living man, and not an annotator of the past. He would have grown freely, his initial spark of divine fire unquenched by scholastic inflexibilities of discipline and study. He would have imbibed no sermons, but his splendid curiosity would have found food and encouragement from his teachers. He would have lived in and learned to love the country and the city; he would be at home in the ploughed fields as well as in the centres of learning; he would like the cleansing solitude of the woods and yet too the invigorating bustle of the city streets. He would be brought up on Plato and Thucydides, Leonardo and Michelangelo, Bacon and Montaigne; he would study the civilization of Greece and that of the Renaissance on all sides, joining the history of politics, economics, and institutions with that of science, literature, and philosophy; and yet he would find time to study his own age thoroughly. He would be interested in life, and full of it; he would jump into campaigns, add his influence carefully to movements he thought good, and help make the times live up more nearly to their possibilities. He would not shut himself up forever in laboratories, libraries, and lecture rooms; he would live

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more widely than that. He would be of the earth earthly, of the world worldly. He would not talk of ideas in the abstract and do nothing for them in the concrete; above all else in the world he would abhor the kind of talk that is a refuge from the venture and responsibility of action. He would not only love wisdom, he would live it."

This is not only well and truly said, but, by his own words, Mr. Durant has committed himself not merely to preach but to practise his faith. It will be interesting to watch whether he will grow to the full stature of his own ideal. R. F. A. H.

Women and the Labor Party

Women and the Labor Party, edited by Dr. Marion Phillips. New York: B. W. Huebsch. Fifty Cents.

TO be a woman with a vote in England now must be a less perplexing state than it is in this country, where the bitterly acquired ballot can only be cast for unprogressive orthodox parties or non-progressing unorthodox ones. Voting for the English Labor party must be a really satisfying experience, and not the least reason should be its sane policy towards women. It will be a happy day, of course, when "women" as an object of policies and generalizations can be dismissed, when it will sound just as idiotic to discuss "women" as a separate class as it would now were one to praise a party for its tact in dealing with the special problems of men, or an author for her sympathetic study of man—mysterious, ineluctable man—a female Arnold Bennett on her knees before the touchingly inscrutable spectacle of Manhood. But until that bright future of human as well as political franchise, women must realize that the ages have really heaped up some problems at their doors which must be recognized as such in order to be solved. In her introduction to Women and the Labor Party, Dr. Marion Phillips puts the reason for this well when she says that there are certain matters concerning "home life, the nurture of the young, the care of the sick and weakly, the planning of the dwelling itself" which are especially women's questions, but "not because their right solution does not affect the well being of men as well as women, but because it is only by women turning their own experience into the common knowledge of all that the right solutions can be found."

For this reason—that women happen to have experience *in certain matters and not because they happen to* be women—this collection of keenly interesting essays has been made. In it Labor party women who are experts in their various fields explain how in their opinion the tight knots of housing and cleanliness and poor laws and nurseries and women wage earners can be untangled, or how, at least, untanglement can be approached. The names of Mary Macarthur, Beatrice Webb and Rebecca West will serve to show the high rank of the contributors, all of whom are women of national or international reputation. From Mary Macarthur we get a clear statement of The Women Trade-Unionist's Point of View; Margaret Llewelyn Davies presents The Claims of Mothers and Children; Beatrice Webb writes with the conviction of authority about The End of the Poor Law; Rebecca West is acidly brilliant on Women as Brainworkers; Margaret Bondfield writes on Women as Domestic Workers; Averil D. Sanderson Furniss on The Working Woman's House; Katherine Bruce Glasier on The Labor Woman's Battle with Dirt; A. Susan Lawrence on The Woman Wage Earner; Margaret McMillan on The Nursery of Tomorrow, and Mary Longman on Women and Internationalism.

But the chief fact about their contributions is the all-important one that the Labor party stands behind them. They are no mere isolated opinions. Arthur Henderson in a brief foreword says that on the whole this volume is to be studied "in the light of the program of organized Labor," and that it is "published with the hearty approval of the Labor party in the hope that the great mass of women, particularly those belonging to the wage-earning class, will find in its pages evidence that the party is working for the creation of a democratic order of society in which men and women can live together on a footing of complete equality and cooperate politically for the common ends of good government."

The English Labor party is not alone, indeed, in proclaiming these admirable sentiments, but it does seem to stand alone in the sensible means used to make them effective. According to Dr. Marion Phillips, the constitution of the Labor party provides that women must have at least four of the seats on the National Executive, and a certain number must also be placed upon the Executive Committees of local Labor parties. The feminist bitter-ender would of course disapprove of these political leading-strings and become still more indignant at the further information that women are let teethe in special women's sections of the party. Apparently she would be right. Theoretically it is all wrong to allow any kind of bias either for or against women. The Labor party believes this, too, and proclaims that "essentially the interests of men and women are indivisible," but, as we have so often seen in trade unions here in the United States, women who are in theory full and equal members are in reality such timid political babes that they let the men have all the offices even where the women constitute more than three-fourths of the union membership. It is justice, therefore, to protect them against their own inexperience, even as immigrants are granted special protection in a land of confusing newness. These devices matter very little if the organization using them recognizes that they are to meet a temporary disability only; that women voters are to be specially nurtured only because they are so newly up from slavery, not because they are women.

Throughout the essays in Women and the Labor Party runs this spirit of freedom from tradition, combined with the wisdom of recognizing tradition as a force to be dealt with. One feels that if this spirit spreads, as it should spread, we shall yet see man and wife "cooperating politically for the common ends of good government"—and, what will be a far more significant step forward, cooperating in getting the family breakfast before both starting out to work. S. T.

An English Suburb

Shope and Houses, by Frank Swinnerton. New York: George H. Doran Company. $1.50.

THE dissatisfaction one feels with the latter third of Shops and Houses although it blurs does not destroy the impression of delicate understanding craftsmanship gained from a reading of the early chapters. The quality that delights is similar to the union of grace and crispness of outline that is the distinguishing trait of the best of old wood cuts. Neither is the pleasure taken in the first two hundred pages enough to exonerate the narrative as a whole from a charge of lameness. A maximum of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A League of Free Nations

HELP WIN IT

Since the League of Free Nations Association published its principles, on November 27, the peace issues have become much more closely joined. The fifty professors, editors, publicists, and other students of international affairs, when they put out their program, were meeting the necessity for a general education of the American public. They now face rather the necessity for helping in the fight that is going well at Paris and is threatening at Washington.

The Association, in its original statement, defined the purposes of the League as primarily for:

1. Security: the due protection of national existence.
2. Equality of economic opportunity.

For security it was declared necessary to give up the old ideas that had brought on this war and substitute co-operative inquiry, agreement, and enforcement. President Wilson won his first great victory at Paris when it was agreed that the foundation of a League of Nations should precede all other business and be the basis of all further decisions.

As to equality of economic opportunity, notably in those undeveloped regions that have been the fertile cause of modern wars and threats of wars, another great victory was won when it was agreed to put the German colonies under the League. This long step is not only a precedent for further development. It also in itself constitutes the necessity for keeping the League in existence, and for having it fully equipped with legislative power. No otherwise could the task be carried along.

Was this victory hailed with joy at Washington? On the contrary, the more vocal members of the Senate viewed such progress with alarm. Speeches of almost incredible narrowness hunted for objections in such words as "infringement of sovereignty" and in imaginary dangers of "policing Hottentots." It sounded like a backward village excited by a new invention.

Our Principles said: "The first task is legislative in its nature. The problem is to modify the conditions that lead to war. It will be quite inadequate to establish courts of arbitration or of law if they have to arbitrate or judge on the basis of the old laws and practices. They have proved insufficient."

They have proved insufficient to such an extent that the ability of the world to recover from the strain is still open to question. By co-operation it may succeed. If it has to face the old dangers and the old preparations, the chances are there will be a complete break-down of civilization.

The conclusion of our Statement of Principles was this:

"In our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Emancipation Proclamation, the New World has offered documents which have contributed to the organized freedom of mankind, and in President Wilson's state papers we have the elements of a new charter. At a time when deep-seated forces of reaction would hamper a democratic solution and assert the old schemes of competitive militarism, of economic wars after the war, of division and bitterness and unhealed sores, such as will breed further wars and rob this one of its great culmination, we call on all liberal-minded men to stand behind the principles which the President has enunciated, and we invite them to join in fellowship with us for their realization."

That call most urgently needs to be repeated now. Europe on the whole seems ready to follow the President. Thirty-three men in the Senate, from politics or ignorance, could destroy all he has done and plunge the world to despair.

Against the apathy and opposition of a narrow-visioned group in the Senate there is immediate need of vigorous support *by the American public* of the aims and policy outlined by President Wilson.

Your help will count, We need Members, Meetings, Money.

League of Free Nations Association

130 West 42d Street, New York

Here are a few of the signers of our Statement:

WILLIAM KENT
JOHN A. RYAN
WALTER L. FISHER
ROBERT ERSKINE ELY
ELLERY SEDGWICK
S. S. FELS
ARTHUR GLEASON
HAMILTON HOLT
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
GRAHAM TAYLOR
WILLIAM HARD
ROBERT HERRICK
MRS. KELLOGG FAIRBANK
JOHN DEWEY
EDWIN F. GAY
A. LAWRENCE LOWELL
JOHN R. COMMONS
JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK
THOMAS W. LAMONT
HENRY BRUERE
HELEN MAROT
FRANK P. WALSH
DOROTHY WHITNEY STRAIGHT
J. RANDOLPH COOLIDGE
JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS
FELIX FRANKFURTER
JUDGE LEARNED HAND
THOMAS L. CHADBOURNE
HERBERT CROLY
LAWSON PURDY
JACOB H. SCHIFF
IDA M. TARBELL
JOHN A. VOLL
JOHN F. MOORS

WENDELL T. BUSH, Treasurer,
League of Free Nations Association,
130 West 42d St., New York.
MARK X
( ) 1. Please send copy of your statement of principles.
( ) 2. I enclose $... to be applied to the purposes of the Association.

Name.....
Street.....
City.....

The membership fee is $5 a year. Enrollment is free. The work is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

care and attention to detail went into the exposition; the conclusion might have been written in haste, or in illness, when the author's insight had forsaken him with his vitality. It is more likely though that he has no talent for depicting happiness. So long as events go from bad to worse, so long as dull types and barren moods are uppermost, we find him convincing. But the chapters of stage-worn accidents that lead us to the most time-honored of finales might have been written by a number of less clever people than Swinnerton. It adds to his difficulty that he is an objective artist, badly at a loss in the unfenced fields of omniscience. The discovery of new hope and the expression of exuberant emotion turn mawkish on his tongue. His psychological analysis of young love is a bit gushing. It would seem that his range of tonality is limited. There is no surpassing him in a gray mournful prelude or nocturne, but his waltz movements are only sentimentally alluring, and there is little but forced abandon in his mazurkas.

As a study of small town life in England I remember nothing better than this novel save Cranford and the Clayhanger series. It is the fruit of scientific study and analysis, and its theme is definite. Dorothy Vechantor states it: "Isn't Beckwith any small town in England? Isn't the choice between London—that's heartless—and Beckwith where your life's everybody's business? If you have to choose, what will you choose?" There is small doubt that we have the author's answer in the answer of Louis: "Oh, London!" he cried suddenly. "London, for God's sake!" But Bennett and Mrs. Gaskell had the advantage in their interpretations of being sympathetic with the life they pictured. They did not like it all, but they found it possible to bring to the consideration of narrowness in small centres a manner of kindliness and tolerance which Swinnerton has been unable or unwilling to assume. There is no humor in his hostility—except a malicious desire to make provincialism absurd. In Miss Lampe he holds up to our view the perfect example of all that can be nastiest in a gossip. At first she is treated with a successful attempt at objectivity. But toward the end he appears crudely merciless if we remember that Miss Lampe is his own creation, dancing on his wires. We wince when he punishes her by contriving that she slip most ridiculously into a mud puddle before the girl she has injured. This is the discomfiture of Beckwith incarnate, but a rather spiteful revenge on the part of the lord of a small creation. Either there is a real Miss Lampe, dampened thus in effigy, or the character became flesh and dwelt too long in Swinnerton's mental cosmos, angering him beyond her worth.

Certain scenes in Shops and Houses are so sharply etched that they linger in the memory pictorially after we have forgotten the events that led up to and away from them. We have a consciousness of the static life of Beckwith that transcends all information concerning movement and change. Life is not a lively sluice there, but standing water. Whatever happens, we conceive the town in the end as remaining what it was for us at first—an environment that produced the immobile Vechantor dinner, the walk of four abreast across the common, the Hughes party, and the silently fought drawing-room battle of two girls for one man. These things are masterly—as is also Louis Vechantor's clash with his conservative father, and his final bitter meeting with Veronica Hughes. But the action upon which the scenes depend is often bunglingly contrived. Small boldnesses, unconventionalities, rebellions, startle the group into motion, but there is something unnecessary about all these beginnings—as i Swinnerton were as little convinced as the oldest residen that anything might actually occur in Beckwith. Ther is no inevitability about the call of the aristocratic Loui Vechantor upon his grocer cousins, who have created al the scandal upon which the plot turns by moving int Beckwith. There is something improbable about eac link in the series of hysterical adventures through whic Dorothy lays the train unwittingly for her engagemen with Louis. And, worst of all, things come out mos astonishingly pat in the end; so much so that you ar always overhearing something from behind a hedge o seeing somebody at the end of a lane that clears the wa to an obvious ending. Swinnerton's narrative gift is negl gible; his minimum of construction creaks like the ma chinery of an epic. It is in the slow evolution of a situatior or the subtle evaluation of men and women, that he di covers us his power.

It is an accidental virtue that in America our sma towns are less corrosive. We have so much space to mov about that people come and go like nesting birds. It something of an effort to remember that in England the is no place to go. You stay where you find yourself, sinc there is nothing else to do, and fight it out. And you opponents stay to fight you, since they also have no plac to go. The surprising thing is that English town-fol are not more liberal minded, having for so long found necessary to put up with neighbors whose views are anno ing. In spite of our ability to move we are less exclusive o this side of the Atlantic. William Vechantor would hav been given a fair welcome in almost any town of Ne England or the middle west. So long as he paid his deb and went to church we should give little attention to h family connections or his social standing. We shou rather enjoy the spectacle of a "first family" dragg toward the common level by the introduction of a trade man cousin into the community. Our first families are only on sufferance and by means of greater wealth. Ar therefore we have as yet no Beckwith, and shall have no for awhile.

M. A.

Swinburne and Landor

Swinburne and Landor, by W. Brooks Drayt Henderson. New York: The Macmillan Co. $3.00.

THE contrasts between Swinburne and Landor as m of letters are at once clearly defined and instructi In the marmoreal stateliness of Landor's muse there neither motion nor fire, whereas Swinburne's verse sur and sweeps and leaps upon its tumultuous way. Landc prose, upon which, far more securely than upon his ver his fame rests, is in its kind extraordinarily beautif abounding in memorable thoughts and exquisite phra felicities. There was hardly a note upon this instrum which Landor failed to strike, hardly a device of sou and color in words of which he neglected to avail hims Of Swinburne's prose the less said the better. "E De Quincey and Dr. Johnson collaborated in imitat Lyly"—a critic has declared—"they must have produ Swinburnian prose."

In his poetry Landor was content to use the metr molds that lay ready to his hand; his verse forms are familiar and traditional. Swinburne, on the contrary- is his greatness—has a larger range of notes than any ot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nglish poet. Nowhere is there such wonderful richness rhythmical melody (which is curious, seeing that he had ear for music itself, whereas Browning, who was a illed musician, admitted so much that was cacophonous d uncouth into his versification). Himself no mean et, Walter Headlam has left it on record that Swinrne understood and used in his verse those methods of reek lyric meter which the Cambridge Hellenist was, ter years of research, the first to establish. "There are arvellous wonders many," wrote Headlam in the preface his Book of Greek Verse, "but when I consider this hievement in our language at so late a stage of it, there no greater marvel that I know of than this."

In this careful study, the writer, surveying adequately e successive developments of Swinburne's mind and art ith reference to those aspects of the history and thought his own which chiefly influenced and attracted him, rects particular attention to the effect upon Swinburne's etry of his discipleship to Walter Savage Landor.

Swinburne loved the role of disciple—at any rate in his rlier and middle years—and was as undiscriminating in s enthusiasm as he was lyrically perfervid in the poetical lebration of them; over the objects of his admiration he d a way of pouring floods of intricate and inordinate logy. Someone has said that Swinburne could be a valet his heroes. When the fit was on him he was also a st-rate hater, and no one could throw mud with more gor or zest. He rejoiced in the hyperbole of blame no ss than of praise; but Landor, Mazzini and Hugo never ased to have his knee. Of this mighty trio, Landor was r Swinburne, in the beginning and always, the mightiest d noblest. Both belonged to the small number of ambixtrous poets who have practiced that other harmony of ose, and of whom Milton, Donne, Dryden, Shelley and Arld are the most distinguished examples. This, however, as far from being the only tie they had in common. Mr. enderson affirms that between the two there was a comdeship, a spiritual relationship even. Swinburne, he clares, "was in some respects temperamentally like Lanr; his approach to life determined by the same forces at determined Landor's, by nature he loved the same ings. But perceiving this inherent spiritual relationship deliberately fostered it because he realized in Landor e ideal achievement of his own type."

Mr. Henderson makes his points throughout skilfully d convincingly. He has studied his two poets with conentious care. His judgment is sound and his taste above proach. After the searching study by Edward Thomas, d the subtle and beautiful essay by Arthur Symons, this ok is the best interpretation of Swinburne that we have.

H. A. L.

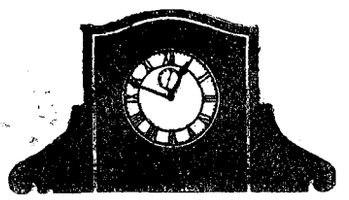
Contributors

ARTHUR RUHL, a resident of Illinois, who before he became a war correspondent was dramatic critic for Collier's Weekly.

HARVEY O'HIGGINS, dramatist, author, and magazine writer, born in Canada, but now living in Washington.

ARTHUR W. MACMAHON is associated with the Council of National Defense.

ISAAC DON LEVINE, formerly Foreign News Editor of the New York Tribune, author of The Russian Revolution and The Resurrected Nations, soon to be published.



Every Time It Ticks

Literally every second the stores are open, women at the head of Delineator families spend more than a dollar for canned goods and preserves; $64.20 every minute; $34,838 every day. This does not take into account the thousands of shelves of things that our housewives "put up" themselves. To influence a vast audience to buy a particular *brand* of goods, tell about its merits in the advertising columns of

The Delineator
The Magazine In One Million Homes

Whatever book you want

Wanamaker's

has it, or will get it.

We buy old, rare books, and sets of books

NEW YORK and PHILADELPHIA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GUARANTEES OF PEACE

by Woodrow Wilson

THIS timely volume presents in a convenient and permanent form, the public messages and addresses of the President, from January 31, 1918, to December 2, 1918. Among the most important public papers are the address to Congress, February 11, 1918; the famous "Force to the Utmost" speech, delivered at Baltimore, April 6, 1918, in behalf of the Third Liberty Loan; the address to the Congress, May 27, 1918; the Independence Day oration, and lastly, the eagerly awaited statement of December 2, 1918. Guarantees of Peace" supplements the two earlier collections of "Why We Are At War" and "In Our First Year of War."

Post 8vo. $1.50

HARPER & BROTHERS
NEW *(Est. 1817)* YORK

OUR large stocks and location in the publishing center of the country enable us to handle orders for books of all kinds more promptly and with a greater degree of general satisfaction than is possible elsewhere.

THE BAKER & TAYLOR CO.

Wholesale Dealers in the Books of All Publishers

354 Fourth Ave. New York
At Twenty-Sixth Street

Large, furnished rooms at reasonable rates in new Residents' quarters of the Madison House Settlement at 257 East Broadway. Accessible to transportation lines; wide pleasant street; offers association with Settlement resident group without requirement of work. Meals at weekly rate; lunches optional. Inquire at Madison House, 216 Madison Street, New York. Tel. Orchard 4507).

EXPERIMENTS I INTERNATIONA ADMINISTRATIO

by Francis Bowes Sayre

"It is quite obvious that such a book as this is just about the most timely and useful that could possibly be put forth now that the question of the League of Nations to enforce peace is dominant in the mind of the world. For so compactly and yet comprehensively supplying the need we owe great thanks to Mr. Sayre."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Post 8vo. Cloth $1.50

HARPER & BROTHE
NEW *(Est. 1817)* YO

ANNUAL FEBRUARY SALE
OF FINE STANDARD SETS

An exceptional opportunity to add editions of recognized excellence at substantial reductions. Catalog ready

HIMEBAUGH & BROWNE
471 FIFTH AVE. opp. LIBRARY NEW YORK

Brentano's
NEW YORK
5th Ave at 27th St
Booksellers to the World
All Books All Languages

LABOR TEMPLE

Fourteenth Street and Second Avenue, New York City

OPEN FORUMS SUNDAYS AT 8 P. M.
February Meetings

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS"

Speakers: DR. HENRY MOSKOWITZ, MAJOR THOS. D. THACHER, LINCOLN COLCORD, A. J. MUSTE

TWO LECTURE COURSES
By DR. WILL DURANT
(Author of "Philosophy and the Social Problem.")

Wednesdays 8:15 P. M., January to June
"Sociology, Civilization and Reconstruction"

Sundays 5 P. M., January to June
"A Review of Recent European Literature"

Open Discussion after each lecture

THE
Society of Friends
(Quakers)

BOOKS at:—
144 East 20th Street, New York; Friends Book Store, Richmond, Ind.

SCHOOLS at:—
Vassalboro, Me.; Union Springs, N. Y.; George School, Pa.; Spiceland, Ind.; Plainfield, Ind. Vermilion Grove, Ill., and Oskaloosa, Iowa.

COLLEGES at:—
Haverford, Pa.; Guilford College, N. C.; Wilmington, Ohio; Earlham, Ind.; Oskaloosa Iowa; Wichita, Kan.; Central City, Neb.; Newberg, Ore.; Whittier, Cal.

Information at Mt. Kisco, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED